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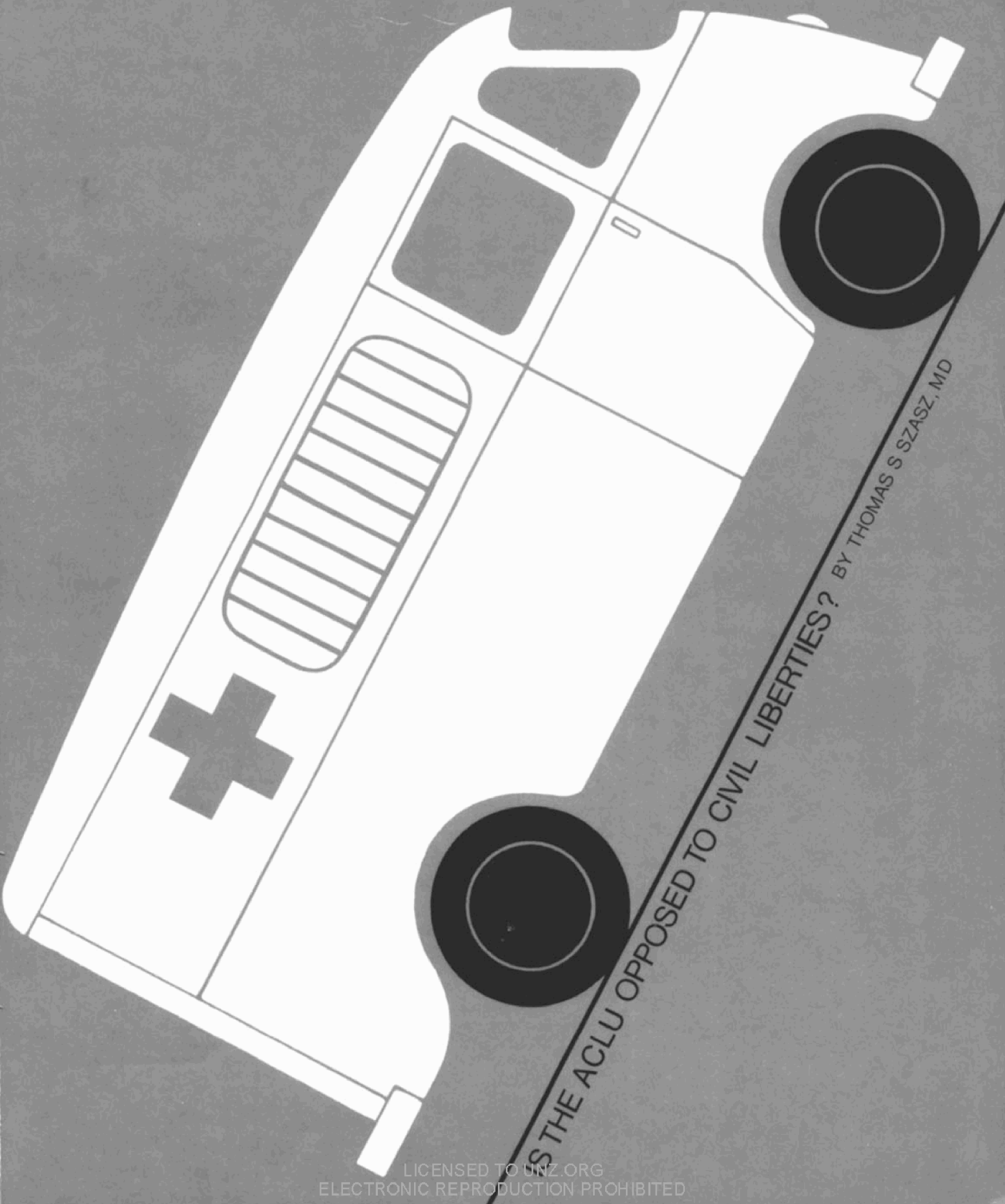

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THE ACLU'S "MENTAL ILLNESS" COP-OUT

Thomas S. Szasz

REASON *is pleased to present an important new article by Dr. Thomas S. Szasz, one of America's most forthright advocates of individual liberty. During most of the 1960s Dr. Szasz was the lone voice speaking out in defense of the individual against the oppression of what is now becoming known as the "Therapeutic State." Beginning with his book* THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS *in 1961, Szasz advanced the controversial view that what is commonly called mental illness is merely conduct which the majority finds distasteful and wishes to suppress. Szasz argued that bizarre conduct, so long as it does not interfere with the rights of others, is no grounds for restricting a person's liberty. From there he proceeded to catalogue the abuses of State psychiatry in such books as* LAW, LIBERTY, AND PSYCHIATRY; PSYCHIATRIC JUSTICE; *and* THE MANUFACTURE OF MADNESS. *One of the most important civil liberties issues involved in "mental health" cases is the State's unlimited power to commit people, involuntarily, to institutions. Yet a jail is still a jail, argues Szasz, even if it is called a "mental hospital" and the guards are called "staff." It is on this vital issue that Dr. Szasz here takes the American Civil Liberties Union to task.*

George Orwell's *ANIMAL FARM* was rejected by four publishers, mainly because it made Stalin look bad. Since the watchword among modern liberals, especially in Europe, had long been *"Pas d'ennemis agauche"* ("There are no enemies on the left"), this was simply not done. In a hitherto unpublished preface to *ANIMAL FARM,* Orwell flailed against this hypocrisy, and concluded with this ringing denunciation: ". . . it is the liberals who fear liberty and the intellectuals who want to do dirt on the intellect: it is to draw attention to that fact that I have written this preface." [1]

Orwell's criticism was directed against England, not the United States, where the situation is, indeed, somewhat different, especially today. Although liberals here too see the mote on the right through a microscope and the beam on the left through inverted opera glasses, the object of their greatest hypocrisy is not Communism but Psychiatry. Thus, civil libertarians, and especially the ACLU, refuse to confront the attack upon liberty by institutional psychiatry, and hence cannot take a clear stand against it. The upshot is that they hedge and fudge and, in the end, come down squarely *against* liberty and *for* psychiatry.

My purpose here is to present a brief history of the American Civil Liberties Union's betrayal of civil liberties. This betrayal is prompted, in my opinion, by a stubborn effort to avoid direct confrontation and conflict with the psychiatric ideology and industry.

THE COP-OUT

During the first few decades of its existence, the ACLU took no notice of psychiatry and involuntary mental hospitalization. Once it did, however, it was love at first sight: the Union's immediate response to psychiatric incarceration was to embrace it as a heaven-sent—nay, science-sent—answer to the problem of social deviance and social control.

In his official history of the ACLU, Charles Markmann relates, with unconcealed pride, how, toward the end of the Second World War, "The Union . . . began to draft model statutes for the commitment of the insane. . . . Twenty years after the first Union draft of a model bill for commitments to mental hospitals, Congress enacted for the District of Columbia a law closely following the Union's proposals." [2]

In short, the Union has a fairly long and unqualifiedly disastrous history of uncritically accepting the concept of "mental illness," whose "treatment," by imprisonment, is then casually delegated to the psychiatric profession.

There were, of course, many reasons for this cop-out then, and why it continues, in attenuated form, now. The popularity and scientific legitimacy of psychiatric principles and practices is one. The lure of a paternalistic approach to troublemakers, which sees the psychiatric as against the penological approach to law enforcement as "humane" and "progressive," is another. The third, the one to which I want to call attention here, is more personal. We know, after all, that organizations do not move by themselves. They are moved, this way or that, by individuals who have strong convictions and the will to see their convictions prevail. Two persons who meet these criteria are Dr. Karl Menninger and Mr. Ramsey Clark. These men are not merely defenders, but enthusiastic advocates, of involuntary mental hospitalization. Dr. Menninger has long been, and Mr. Clark now is, prominent in the ACLU. Their established positions on commitment, and the historic position of the ACLU on this issue, are, however, now coming into ever sharper conflict with the opinion of those members of the Union who are no longer afraid to recognize psychiatry's threat to civil liberties.

MENNINGER'S VIEWS

Dr. Karl Menninger is generally recognized as the professionally most respected and politically most influential psychiatrist of our time. He is a founder of the famed Menninger Clinic and Foundation, a former president of the American Psychoanalytic Association, the recipient of countless psychiatric awards and honors—*and* he has long been a Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the ACLU.

I summarize below, in the form of paradigmatic citations, Menninger's views on mental illness, crime, justice, and involuntary mental hospitalization.

> We insist that there are conditions best described as mental illness. . . . All people have mental illness of different degrees at different times, and sometimes some are much worse, or better. [3]
>
> From the standpoint of the psychiatrist, both homosexuality and prostitution—and add to this the use of prostitutes—constitute evidence of immature sexuality and either arrested psychological development or regression. Whatever it may be called by the public, there is no question in the minds of psychiatrists regarding the abnormality of such behavior. [4]
>
> The very word *justice* irritates scientists. No surgeon expects to be asked if an operation for cancer is just or not. . . . Behavioral scientists regard it as equally absurd to invoke the question of justice in deciding what to do with a woman who cannot resist her propensity to shoplift, or with a man who cannot repress an impulse to assault somebody. This sort of behavior has to be controlled; it has to be discouraged; it has to be *stopped.* This (to the scientist) is a matter of public safety and amicable co-existence, not of justice. [5]
>
> Eliminating one offender who happens to get caught *weakens* public security by creating a false sense of diminished danger through a definite remedial measure. Actually, it does not remedy anything, and it bypasses completely the real and unsolved problem of *how to identify, detect, and detain potentially dangerous citizens.* [6]
>
> [In a society properly informed by 'behavioral science',] indeterminate sentences will be taken for granted, and preoccupation with punishment as the penalty of the law would have yielded to a concern for the best measure to insure public safety, with rehabilitation of the offender if possible, and as economically as possible. [7]
>
> When the community begins to look upon the expression of aggressive violence as the symptom of an illness or as indicative of illness, it will be because it believes doctors can do something to correct such a condition. At present, some better-informed individuals do believe and expect this. [8]
>
> Do I believe there is effective treatment for offenders. . . .? *Most certainly and definitely I do.* Not all cases, to be sure. . . . Some provision has to be made for incurables—pending new knowledge—and these will include some offenders. But I believe the majority of them would prove to be curable. The willfulness and the viciousness of offenders are part of the thing for which they have to be treated. They must not thwart our therapeutic attitude. It is simply not true that most of them are 'fully aware' of what they are doing, nor is it true that they want no help from anyone, although some of them say so. [9]
>
> Some mental patients must be detained for a time even against their wishes, and the same is true of offenders. [10]

As these passages show, Menninger divides social sanctions imposed on offenders or alleged offenders into two types: "punishments" administered with "hostile intentions," and "treatments" administered with "therapeutic intentions." The former are bad and should therefore be abolished; the latter are good and should therefore be used as widely as possible. Menninger thus urges that we abandon the legal and penological system with its limited and prescribed sanctions called "punishments," and replace it with a medical and therapeutic system with unlimited and discretionary sanctions called "treatments." In short, he proposes the destruction of law and justice—in the name of science and therapy.

In a recent article in *THE NEW YORK*

TIMES MAGAZINE entitled "A Model, Clockwork-Orange Prison," Phil Stanford reported on the Patuxent Institution in Maryland, an institution which combines the most repressive, anti-civil-liberties aspects of both prison and mental hospital—the sort of thing Dr. Karl Menninger has advocated throughout his entire professional life. Menninger knows Patuxent, and he knows what he likes. "Dr. Karl Menninger, perhaps the country's most honored psychiatrist, thinks Patuxent is a 'great idea'," writes Stanford. "He [Menninger] says, 'It's the only one of its kind.... Patuxent is a progressive step forward.' "[11]

RAMSEY CLARK'S POSITION

The other prominent civil libertarian and a leading figure in the ACLU to whose views on psychiatry I wish to call attention is Ramsey Clark. Mr. Clark is a former Attorney General of the United States, and the Chairman of the National Advisory Council of the ACLU. I list below a few passages from his best-selling book, *CRIME IN AMERICA,* which illustrate his views on crime, mental illness, the indeterminate sentence, and involuntary mental hospitalization.

> Most people who commit serious crimes have a mental health problem.[12]
>
> Poor mental health, alcoholism and drug addiction are present in most crime.... It finally has become clear to the public that alcoholism is a health problem.... Drug addiction is an illness. Medical science can discover cures and provide care.... Drug users should be placed in correctional programs that cure and provide the opportunity to stay cured. The user's crime, until it causes him to commit other crimes, is against himself. When an individual is first found to be a user, criminal sanctions are neither necessary nor desirable. Where commitment is necessary, civil commitment of a contractual nature offers the opportunity for physical control over the addict without the stigma of a conviction for crime—and therefore the best chance for rehabilitation. Voluntary participation, which is the basis for civil commitment, creates an attitude helpful in achieving a cure.[13]
>
> Punishment as an end in itself is itself a crime in our time. The crime of punishment, as Karl Menninger has shown through his works, is suffered by all society.... The use of prisons to punish only causes crime.[14]
>
> If rehabilitation is the goal, only the indeterminate sentence will be used.... The sentence to a fixed term of years injures beyond its irrationality.... Indeterminate sentencing affords the public the protection of potentially long confinement without the necessity that long sentences be served.... The day of the indeterminate sentence is coming.... If we release persons who have the capacity for further crime, only temporary safety has been afforded.[15]
>
> Behavioral scientists can tell us how to condition violence from our personal capability. Psychiatry, psychology, anthropology, and sociology hold the key.... We can do this. It is more important than the ABM system to our personal safety.[16]
>
> Malnutrition, brain damage, retardation, mental illness, high death rates, infant mortality, addiction, alcoholism—these are the principal causes of crime.[17]

In my opinion, these passages constitute some of the purest and most concentrated extracts of mistake, misinformation, and just plain bunk that the reader is likely to find in the literature on crime and mental illness! However, it does not really matter whether the reader agrees with me that these passages constitute Mr. Clark's genuflections before the altar of modern institutional psychiatry, or whether he regards them as true facts and sound judgments. What matters is that we recognize Mr. Clark's enthusiastic endorsement of involuntary psychiatric interventions, and especially involuntary mental hospitalization; that we face the fact of his unqualified support of indeterminate sentences as "rational" sanctions, and of his uncompromising opposition to fixed sentences as "irrational" sanctions; and that we not deceive ourselves about his utter neglect of the deprivations

Karl Menninger and Ramsey Clark are not merely defenders, but enthusiastic advocates of involuntary mental hospitalization.

of civil liberties inherent in the kinds of confinements he advocates. In short, in a conflict between civil liberty and mental health, Mr. Clark comes down squarely on the side of mental health—that is, on the side of psychiatric totalitarianism.

ADDICTION

The ACLU's position on "alcoholism" and "drug addiction"—these terms being themselves misleading metaphors, implying that the self-determined uses of certain substances are, by their very nature, diseases requiring diagnosis and treatment by physicians!—is still another act in the drama of the Union's systematic sellout of liberty for "health."

When it first encountered alcoholism, the Union thought it had met the devil; however, it soon

Menninger proposes the destruction of law and justice—in the name of science and therapy.

"recognized" that alcoholism was not really an "evil," but an "illness." "In the preoccupation with loftier matters that characterized its first decade," writes Markmann, "the ACLU hardly noticed the daily violations of civil liberties and law by which Prohibition was enforced. It has been suggested that in part this blind spot might well have arisen out of the fact that so many of the Union's early leaders were social workers, clergymen, and reformers to whom, at least in the abstract, Prohibition seemed genuinely desirable because of the manifold evils of drink."[18]

This is *justifying* the ACLU's position on Prohibition, not *explaining* it. It might be well to recall, in this connection, that while the ACLU tacitly supported Prohibition, many others—for example, that "arch-reactionary," H. L. Mencken—valiantly opposed it.

The Union's position on what it calls the problem of drug addiction—but what I think civil libertarians should call the **right to self-medication**—leaves one no option but to conclude that the ACLU has never been, and is not now, primarily concerned with civil liberties at all; but that it seeks instead, under the banner of civil liberties, to transform our relatively open society into one that is completely closed—that is, into a Therapeutic State.

A landmark decision regarding addiction, supported by one of the most admired civil libertarians in America, and hailed by the ACLU with unrestrained enthusiasm, is *Robinson v. California* (1962): The United States Supreme Court here ruled that addiction is a disease, whose proper cure is imprisonment in a mental hospital.[20] In his concurring opinion, Justice William O. Douglas asserted that "the addict is a sick person. He may, of course, be confined for treatment or for the protection of society. Cruel and unusual punishment results not from confinement, but from convicting the addict of a crime.... A prosecution for addiction, with its resulting stigma and irreparable damage to the good name of the accused, cannot be justified as a means of protecting society where a civil commitment would do as well.... If addicts can be punished for their addiction then the insane can also be punished for their insanity. Each has a disease and each must be treated as a sick person."[21]

Evidently neither Justice Douglas nor the ACLU is willing to consider the possibility that neither the "addict" nor the "insane" is sick, and that—especially from the point of view of civil liberties—the best way to "treat" them would be by leaving them alone. Furthermore, neither Justice Douglas nor the ACLU is willing to face the inconsistency inherent in their prescription—namely, that if the addict and the insane are sick, then the proper remedy is to *offer* treatment to them, rather than to *impose* it on them. For surely Douglas and the ACLU must know, as nearly everyone knows, that persons with cancer and heart disease—and even with gonorrhea and syphilis!—cannot be forced to submit to treatment they do not want. How, then, does the mere *claim* of some "civil libertarians" that certain persons are sick justify their *further claim* that these persons should be detained against their will? and their *still further claim* that the persons so incarcerated should be forced to submit to interventions which they call treatments but which the "patients" call tortures?

Many of the ACLU's early leaders were social workers, clergymen, and reformers to whom Prohibition seemed genuinely desirable.

The sad tale of the ACLU's support of health, as defined by medical authorities and the society they serve—rather than its support of civil liberty, as defined by those deprived of it and by common sense—goes on and on and shows no signs of abating.

Summarizing the ACLU's stand on alcoholism, Markmann concludes, in 1965, as follows: "Having made an initial inroad on entrenched ignorance by the overthrow of the California law making narcotics addiction a crime [referring here to the *Robinson* decision], the Union, however belatedly, has begun a similar campaign against the parallel callousness that treats the alcoholic as the criminal he is not rather than as the sick man he is.... The Union will attempt to bring the law abreast of medicine and justice. Individual judges in considerable number have long recognized that alcoholism is a disease, but they have been hobbled not only by the prevailing lack of facilities for its treatment but particularly by the middle-class stupidity that keeps on the statute books laws that require men of good will on the bench either to violate their oaths by ignoring evidence or to behave, against all their principles, like Puritan witch-hunters."[21]

This, then, is some of the evidence that makes me conclude that the ACLU is actually an ideological, and perhaps in part also an economic, captive of the "liberal" medical-psychiatric establishment, rather than an independent defender of civil liberties. In other words, the ACLU is, in effect, a

lobby for the American Medical Association and the American Psychiatric Association: it is in the interests of these medical guilds that ever-more human conditions and problems be defined and treated as diseases—and it is this interest that the ACLU serves. As such a lobby, it is hardly surprising that the ACLU cannot recognize, much less fight, the enemies of civil liberties who wear not brown shirts but white coats—who are members not of the Ku Klux Klan, but of the American Psychoanalytic Association!

THE ALABAMA CASE

The latest incident in this brief account of the history of the betrayal of liberty for lunacy by the ACLU which I want to mention is a suit in which the ACLU and Dr. Menninger met in court.

In the fall of 1970, following the dismissal of a group of employees from an Alabama mental institution, the dismissed workers and the guardians of the patients sued the State, contending that the staff reduction made effective treatment impossible. This suit has become something of a *cause celebre* in legal-psychiatric circles, many civil libertarians celebrating, I think once again quite mistakenly, the court's support for their claim that hospitalized mental patients have a "right to treatment." I mention this case here, however, only because it brought together Dr. Karl Menninger and the ACLU in court—testifying against each other! This scene—and the boundless confusion and hypocrisy concerning psychiatry in the top echelons of the ACLU which it signifies—deserve, I think, more public exposure than they have received.

The case was tried in the Federal District Court in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1971. the ACLU Foundation was authorized by the Court to participate as *amicus curiae* to the same extent as the plaintiffs and defendants, and thus played a major role in all aspects of the case, including oral arguments. The State of Alabama, the defendant in the case, invited several experts to testify in its behalf, among them Dr. Karl Menninger. Although Menninger must have known that the ACLU was supporting the plaintiffs, he chose to testify for the defendants. Here is how his participation is described in *CIVIL LIBERTIES,* the official organ of the ACLU:

> Menninger appeared as a witness for Alabama. 'I am very much in disagreement with computer medicine,' he announced. 'Boy scouts can give treatment.' Menninger claimed, 'Patients need love more than psychotherapy.' He said he would rather have 'more clergymen than psychiatrists and psychologists.' "
>
> On cross-examination, Attorney Dean revealed that at the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, there is one psychiatrist for every eight patients. Menninger justified this by the difference in 'economic base', the difference in type of patients and the difference in services offered. Nobody asked him why persons who are involuntarily incarcerated in state mental institutions should get less professional care than those who decide to pay their own way in private institutions. [22]

From the same report we learn that "The ACLU Board of Directors is still polishing its policy on mental commitments. However, most of the Union's leaders appear to agree on certain minimal standards: Involuntary commitment should be the last resort to which society turns in dealing with the mentally impaired. Before commitment there must be clear demonstration that the individual is a danger to himself or herself or to others. . . . And there must be assurance that the individual who is committed will, in fact, be treated adequately." [23]

In other words, while the victims of institutional psychiatry are perishing, the ACLU is "polishing." How reassuring. And how very reassuring that the ACLU no longer refers to mental *illness* or mental *patients!* But if there is no illness—and none is mentioned in the paragraph I here excerpted—then what is there to *treat?* And how much more reassuring still that the ACLU insists on "adequate treatment"—for *involuntary* patients! Would electroshock do? Or is that inadequate, and would nothing less than lobotomy satisfy the "minimal standards" of the ACLU?

I say: Enough! If the ACLU is *still* unprepared to defend the *civil liberties* of Americans accused of "mental illness," the least it could do is get out of the way—that is, stop justifying and supporting involuntary mental hospitalization—and let others, not so confused or corrupted or both, defend the victims. If it doesn't, then its acronym should be clearly understood to stand for the American Civil Lunacy Association—an association for the defense of lunacy, the privileged territory of the psychiatric mafia.

The masthead of the September 1972 issue of *CIVIL LIBERTIES,* from which I quoted above, perhaps explains further the ACLU's consistently confused position of psychiatric matters and its subtly hostile attitude towards the victims of institutional psychiatry. Among the officers of the ACLU listed on this masthead, the first is its Chairman of the Board of Directors; and the second is its Chairman of the National Advisory Council: Ramsey Clark. [24]

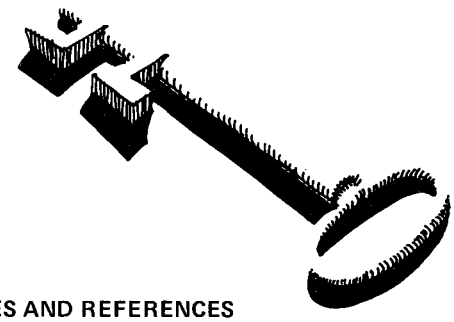
CREATIVE PARANOIA

Zola accused the General Staff of the French Army of deliberately incriminating an innocent Jew as a traitor. Dreyfus's enemies were, of course, in a bind: since they knew that Dreyfus was innocent, they could be fair to him only by admitting that they were guilty.

The same considerations hold for the American Civil Liberties Union's relationship to the involuntary mental patient. Since civil libertarians believe that, within the bounds of the criminal law, people should be legally free to behave as they like, the Union could be fair to the mental patient only by admitting that it has been wrong or wicked or both.

The moral is that the enemies of civil liberties are to the right—and yes, to the left, also—and above and below, and before and behind. They are everywhere.

Psychiatrists call such fear
for liberty paranoia.
Those who love liberty
call it eternal vigilance. ◻



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[12] Ramsey Clark, *CRIME IN AMERICA: OBSERVATIONS ON ITS NATURE, CAUSES, PREVENTION, AND CONTROL* (Simon and Schuster, 1970; Pocket Books, 1971; page numbers refer to Pocket Books edition), p. 43.
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[14] *Ibid.,* p. 199.
[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 202-205.
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[18] Markmann, *op. cit.,* p. 348.
[19] *Robinson v. California,* 370 U.S. 660, 1962.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 674.
[21] Markmann, *op. cit.,* p. 406.
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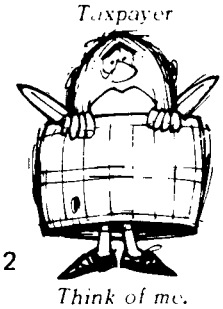

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new year's revolution

Ned Nolte

In an obscure village during the Middle Ages lived an obscure middle-aged poet named Grzyczislaw Gregorian. One night the All-Knowing Cosmic Systems Analyst appeared to Grzyczislaw in a dream and spoke these words:

"Yea, verily, say I, this planet sorely needeth a better system for keeping track of the years."

"Gadzooks!" swore the dumfounded Grzyczislaw, who had never before encountered a systems analyst.

"Thus say I to you, that henceforth, every year into which the number four goeth without residue shall contain an extra day, unless the number 100 goeth in likewise and the number 400 goeth not. You, Grassislaw Gregorian, shall proclaim this unto all the world!"

"Grzyczislaw," corrected Grzyczislaw.

"Gesundheit," said the Cosmic Calendar-maker, vanishing.

"Amen," said the poet. Now wide awake, the humble bard sprang to his writing desk and wrote down every detail of his dream. Drunk with inspiration, Grzyczislaw decided that it was up to him to design the entire calendar. He named the seven days of the week for the seven basic forces of Nature, beginning with Sunday for the sun and Monday for the moon. Next came Tuesday, named for the tides (Tidesday), Wednesday for the wind (Windsday), Thursday for the earth (Th'earth'sday), Friday for the inferno (Fryday), and Saturday for the water (Saturatedday). Curiously, Grzyczislaw himself never touched water on Saturday, although he often came home in a saturated condition.

Finally, Grzyczislaw Gregorian wrote his now-famous poem:

Thirty days hath September,
April, June and November.
All the rest have thirty-one
Except February.

Having loused up the meter, Grzyczislaw gave up on the rhyme and went back to sleep.

Overwhelmed by the All-Knowing Cosmic Systems Analyst's keen logic and Grzyczislaw Gregorian's poetic masterpiece, the world hastened to adopt the new system. The calendar that we use even today is, indeed, known as the Gregorian Calendar.

Now Gregorian was truly an expert dreamer and poet, but he was no systems analyst. The Gregorian system of twelve months having 31, 30, 28 or 29 days is as preposterous as the English system of weights and measures. Days of the week are completely unrelated to the days of the month, the number of days per month varies with no pattern, and the New Year can begin on any day of the week. In short, the Gregorian system is about as well-conceived and easy to use as an elastic tape measure.

THIS PLANET SORELY NEEDETH A BETTER SYSTEM FOR KEEPING TRACK OF THE DAYS OF THE YEAR!!!

As Barry Goldwater or possibly Clifford Irving once said, "There is no power like that of an idea whose time has come." The time has come to introduce the Nolte Calendar, a modest proposal for keeping better track of the days of the year.

In attempting to design better calendars than Gregorian's, latter-day calendar reform fanatics have devised the "intercalary day". These are days which have neither a date nor a day of the week. Presumably, these "intercalary days", or Lucky Strike Extras, would become festival days, giving rise to the appropriate celebrations, business closings, greeting card sales, highway death tolls, and other manifestations of the holiday spirit.

Although calendars using "intercalary days" are an improvement, calendar reform is not simply a question of good new system versus bad old system. Plainly, the metric system of weights and measures is superior to the English system, yet the

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United States still clings stubbornly to the latter. The point is, people will need a good reason to go to all the trouble of replacing the present calendar with a new one.

Recently, an excellent reason for adopting a new calendar has emerged: the Four-Day Work Week. Business leaders assure us that within ten years the Four-Day Work Week will be as commonplace as the padded expense account. By a strange coincidence, the Nolte Calendar is ideally suited to the Four-Day Work Week.

Of all the days of the week, one day has traditionally been welcomed about as eagerly as a wino at a WCTU meeting. On most people's list of pleasant experiences, this day ranks somewhere between the surgical removal of hemorrhoids and the heartbreak of psoriasis. Therefore, the Nolte Calendar has been designed around a simple key principle:

NO MORE MONDAYS!!!

Observe what happens when this dismal day is eliminated. The resulting six-day week is divisible into either a four-day work week and a two-day weekend, or into equal three-day shifts. Furthermore, all twelve months in the Nolte Calendar are exactly alike. Each month has 5 weeks and 30 days; each month begins on a Tuesday and ends on a Sunday so that the weekend, incredibly enough, comes at the end of the week. Figure 1 shows the monthly calendar.

Figure 1

TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30

It doesn't take a Cosmic Systems Analyst to figure out that twelve such months account for only 360 days. For dignity's sake, the calendar reformer must resist the temptation to allocate the remaining five days to the five highest bidders. Thus, the Nolte Calendar *won't* include Chewing Tobacco Day, Bulldozer and Steamshovel Day, Cottage Cheese Sandwich Day, Abolish the Grizzly Bear Day nor the International Sneezing and Belching Festival.

The Nolte Calendar uses the extra days to mark the New Year and the seasons. The calendar year begins at the time of the winter solstice, on what is now December 22nd. This day is the New Year's Festival, an intercalary day for celebrating the new year. The following day is Tuesday, January 1st, not January 2nd.

After each 90-day quarter, there is a Festival, another intercalary day to proclaim the coming of a new season. Thus, the last day of the year is the Winter Festival, as well as New Year's Eve. During leap year, a Leap Year's Festival provides an additional holiday between the Summer Festival and the 1st of July. The four 90-day periods between Festivals correspond as closely as possible to the four seasons. Figure 2 shows the complete year.

Figure 2

	T	W	Th	F	Sa	S	T	W	Th	F	Sa	S	T	W	Th	F	Sa	S	
NY	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	JANUARY						7	8	9	10	11	12	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	FEBRUARY						13	14	15	16	17	18	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	19	20	21	22	23	24	MARCH						
	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	SP
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	APRIL						7	8	9	10	11	12	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	MAY						13	14	15	16	17	18	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	19	20	21	22	23	24	JUNE						
	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	SU
LY	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	JULY						7	8	9	10	11	12	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	AUGUST						13	14	15	16	17	18	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	19	20	21	22	23	24	SEPTEMBER						
	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	FA
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	OCTOBER						7	8	9	10	11	12	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	NOVEMBER						13	14	15	16	17	18	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	19	20	21	22	23	24	DECEMBER						
	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	WI

Now comes the hard part. Let's assume we agree that 60 weekends per year is better than 52, that a long weekend every 3 months would be welcome, and that Monday and the five-day work week are obnoxious and obsolete, respectively. How do we go about replacing the old system with the new one?

Alas, Gregorian is no longer around to whip up a classy poem. Without a silvertongued sage to publicize it, the Nolte Calendar must rely on a word-of-mouth campaign of epic proportions.

In order to sweep the country and the civilized world with a "grass-roots" or "folk" movement for calendar reform, various gambits may be employed. An appeal to authority, for example, is always effective. Insinuate convincingly that this calendar was actually developed by one or more of the following impression-makers: Queen Elizabeth, Sam Ervin, Ralph Nader, Jackie Onassis, Dick Butkus, Ayn Rand, Betty Crocker, Bobby Sherman or even the Cosmic Systems Analyst himself.

The key is to be positive, never defensive. It's not enough to simply tell friends and acquaintances about the new calendar; they should be given to understand that the new calendar is practically an accomplished *fact!* It's also not enough to simply date all correspondence with the new date; those to whom such correspondence is sent must be made aware of their grievous mental and moral short-

comings if they have not yet adopted the new calendar. The conversion table, Figure 3, may be used to find the new date.

Figure 3.

ORDINARY YEAR		MONTH	LEAP YEAR	
OLD	NEW		OLD	NEW
10	1	JANUARY	10	1
41	31	FEBRUARY	41	31
69	61	MARCH	70	61
100	92	APRIL	101	92
130	122	MAY	131	122
161	152	JUNE	162	152
191	183	JULY	192	184
222	213	AUGUST	223	214
253	243	SEPTEMBER	254	244
283	274	OCTOBER	284	275
314	304	NOVEMBER	315	305
344	334	DECEMBER	345	335
	366	JANUARY+1		367

TO DETERMINE THE DATE
IN THE NOLTE CALENDAR:

A. If the year is evenly divisible by 4, use the LEAP YEAR columns on the right, otherwise use the columns on the left.

B. Find the number in the OLD column for the month being converted, and add the day of the month to that number.

C. Look in the NEW column for the number *Closest To* and *Less Than* the result of B. Find and remember the month in the MONTH column which corresponds to this number. Subtract this number from the result of B.

D. The answer is the day of the month. If the answer is greater than 30, 31 is a Season Festival, 32 is New Year's Day or Leap Year's Day.

Using a calendar that is different from everyone else's calendar may prove personally rewarding, even if such action doesn't immediately earn all kinds of respect and admiration. Use of the Nolte Calendar will definitely aid in cultivating one's image as a lovable eccentric, engaged in a heroic crusade to answer the crucial question of our time: *Is Monday really necessary?*

For the optimist, one final question arises. What would happen if this new calendar actually catches on?

One hardly need start a calendar printing firm in anxious anticipation. Still, some thought might be given to reducing confusion during the transition from the old calendar to a new one. For example, the names of the months are a hopeless mishmash of Roman gods, goddesses, emperors, festivals, family names and wrong numeric prefixes. If both calendars were in use, the new calendar could use new names for the months and dispel any doubt as to which calendar is used in a particular instance.

The months could be named for the seasons: Earlywinter, Midwinter, Latewinter, Earlyspring, etc., or less prosaically: Winterdawn, Winternoon, Winterset, etc. Still, such names have all the glamour of a glass of warm milk. There's such a thing as being too systematic.

It might be better to use a set of twelve names which are already popular. Likely candidates would include the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac, the Twelve Brightest Stars, the Twelve Boy Scout Virtues, the Twelve Danger Signals of Cancer, the Twelve Apostles in alphabetical order, the Twelve Deadly Sins (Avarice, Bigamy, Concupiscence, Dissipation, Envy, Flatulence, Gluttony, Halitosis, Intoxication, Jealousy, Kidnapping and Lust), or the ever-popular Dirty Dozen!

If one list of really glamorous names isn't quite long enough, a second list could be added to make a total of twelve. For example, the months could be named for Santa's Eight Reindeer and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse; Groucho, Harpo, Chico, Zeppo, Gummo and the Seven Dwarfs; the Ten Commandments and the Everly Brothers; or even the Three Musketeers, the Three Stooges and the Six Fat Dutchmen.

Through a careful combination of cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers and obnoxious puns, the days of the week could be given an orderliness all their own:

1. Onesday
2. Twosday
3. Thirdsday
4. Quartsday
5. Fifthsday
6. Sexday

If the reader thinks this renaming crusade will be abandoned after a lousy list like that, he has another think coming. Since this is a folk calendar, the reader is invited to submit a better list. The best suggestion will win a copy of the 1974 Playmate Calendar, showing the now-obsolescent Gregorian system, along with some much more successful arrangements of figures.

Finally, in order that poor Gregorian not be forgotten, his immortal poem will be updated to suit the new calendar and, incidentally, make the damn thing rhyme after all these years:

Thirty days hath September,
April, June and November,
And all the rest up through December,
Now ain't that easy to remember?

'containing communism':

The Art of Getting Along

Raymond Welch

In recent years much attention has been devoted to a systematic re-evaluation of the conventional wisdom regarding the sources and impact of American foreign policy. Much of the revisionist scholarship has focused on the Cold War, arguing (in its most radical form) that the conventional anti-communist rhetoric of the '50s and '60s was merely a rationalization for an aggressive anti-Soviet policy. Scholars of this persuasion place most of the blame for the Cold War on the U.S. government. Such views are untenable to many conservative scholars, who point to the general weakness and ineffectuality of American Cold War policies, compared to the rhetoric with which they were justified.

Professor Welch has taken an altogether different approach. He has examined the Cold War "containment" period empirically, looking past the rhetoric of anti-communism to determine what sort of considerations really *seemed to determine American foreign policy. His conclusions are novel, thought-provoking, and unsettling to those who value such concepts as justice and freedom.*

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The notion that good technique means good policy dies hard. Especially so in discussions of recent American policies of state. We are told, for example, that to correct the disasters of the past, a reformed decision-making must force our leaders to be humane and honest. But in fact, there have been few lies told in this matter of state policy, and if the emperor's nakedness has gone unnamed, it is not because *he* misled us.

Twenty-six years ago, President Harry Truman addressed a joint session of Congress, requesting an expanded program of economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. In making this request, Truman emphasized America's responsibility toward the so-called free nations of the world: it is America's job, he asserted, to strengthen such nations that they might resist internal or external subversion; and when potential subversion becomes an actuality, America's task is to help preserve the status quo. "One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States," he stated,

> is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. . . . We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free people, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

Congress responded within several months by substantially accepting the President's request, thereby implementing what is referred to as the Truman Doctrine.

Although Truman had not once referred by name to communism or the Soviet Union, all who listened to him believed they understood his full meaning. Congressmen, journalists, university professors, diplomats—all understood that the U.S. President was announcing America's intent to contain the spread of communism. Since that announcement, on March 12, 1947, American leaders have reiterated that intent, and during the ensuing quarter-century observers have taken this so-called policy of containment to be the basic American foreign policy.

In this article, I would like to treat the varying fortunes of the containment policy since World War II. I believe that if this official U.S. policy is taken seriously at full value, we will discover there the basic statist criterion by which the U.S. has

consistently evaluated other nations.

To discover the basic meaning of containment, we can look at three matters: first, the manner in which American political leaders perceived and evaluated the immediate post-World War II world; next, the articulation of the containment policy itself; and third, America's alliance with the Republic of South Vietnam.

THE LONELY GIANT

It is a commonplace assertion by now that the U.S. emerged from World War II indisputably the richest and most powerful nation in the world. In returning to the public and private documents of that period, therefore, I was struck by the fact that powerful American leaders did not express the outgoing assurance we might expect in that situation. Instead, the dominant attitude was one of disorientation and fear. The world into which these gentlemen were born was perceived to be gone, its structure and contours torn down by the catastrophe of 20th Century wars. The United States, they sensed, confronted a world of unknown, fearful potential.

George Kennan, then recent American charge d'affaires in Moscow, presented a series of lectures at the Naval War College in 1946-47. In his final lecture, before joining the State Department in Washington, he summed up America's situation in these words:

> We have won a war in Europe—on the battlefield. It has cost us not only the lives of our people, the labor of our people, the depletion of our national resources. It has also cost us the stability of our international environment, and above all the vigor and strength—temporarily—of some of our real and natural allies. . . . Today we Americans stand as a lonely, threatened power on the field of world history. [1]

Kennan enjoined his students, America's future policy and decision-makers, to anticipate ". . . a world which is at worst hostile and at best resentful."

Joseph Jones, diplomatic officer in the Office of Public Affairs and a major participant in post-War planning, wrote that the major problem was the economic crisis in Britain and her Empire, in France, Greece and China. Should these nations fall into economic anarchy, he continued, ". . . at best they will drop out of the U.S. orbit and try an independent nationalistic policy; at most they will swing into the Russian orbit. We will then face the world alone." [2]

Powerful Congressmen worried over America's troubled predicament. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the 80th Session's Republican majority leader, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and leader in the struggle for bipartisan support for the containment policy, conveyed his frustration to the Senate. "In a sense we are a tragic generation, despite our blessings and our place in the sun," he said:

> We have been drawn into two World Wars. We finally won them both, and yet still confront a restless and precarious peace. Something has been wrong. [3]

Dean Acheson, powerful under-Secretary and Secretary of State for Truman, summed up the disorientation experienced by those leaders:

> The period . . . 1941 through 1952—was one of great obscurity to those who lived through it. Not only was the future clouded, a common enough situation, but the present was equally clouded. We all had far more than the familiar difficulty of determining the capabilities and intentions of those who inhabit this planet with us. The significance of events was shrouded in ambiguity. We groped after interpretations of them, sometimes reversed lines of action based on earlier views, and hesitated long before grasping what now seems obvious. [4]

To have lost one's natural allies was a grim reality, but I suspect that even more than that loss, there was a particular form of international hostility toward American leaders which more fully accounts for the disorientation Acheson described. All diplomatic consultations with the Soviet Union after the War involved a belligerence, intransigence and abuse with which American negotiators had no previous experience whatsoever. Beginning particularly with Stalin's February 2, 1946 speech, in which the Soviet leader reiterated the traditional Marxian-Leninist interpretation of capitalism's inevitable aggressiveness, and continuing through the years afterward in dramatic public utterances and private ones as well, the Soviets incessantly violated the traditional diplomatic rules of the game, among which is the elementary understanding that diplomats conduct themselves and treat their opposites with civility and courtesy. American diplomats consistently stressed their inability to get to first base, or even to see the pitch.

Secretary of Navy and Defense James Forrestal was especially intrigued with Soviet truculence, and we find discussed in his *DIARIES* numerous confrontations in which his colleagues were exasperated and offended by a plain lack of civility. At the several Conferences of Foreign Ministers held during these years, the Soviet Union's Molotov pained the Americans (and their Allies) to an extreme, eliciting from Secretary of State George Marshall at one of them the statement that, as expressed by Forrestal:

> . . . the conduct of the Russian foreign minister and his remarks were of such a character as to make it impossible for him or his colleagues to have any respect for the Soviet Union.

Forrestal also mentioned attempted negotiations with the Soviets during the Berlin crisis of 1948: "The

sheer duplicity of the Soviets during these negotiations is beyond the experience of the experts in the State Department."[5]

The instances of Russian diplomatic aggression were many, and after several years they were sometimes matched by a growing American truculence, particularly with the advent of John Foster Dulles in 1953. And while much of the surface of this diplomatic conflict made the glare of headlines, naturally the full experience of it could only be appreciated by those few persons participating in what often became emotional confrontations, and by their colleagues who stood at one remove from the conference table but who were charged with making some kind of sense of these aberrations.

UNDERSTANDING THE SOVIETS

Immediately following Stalin's militant speech of February 1946, a series of cables and reports from the American charge d'affaires in Moscow, George F. Kennan, was received in Washington. Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, was deeply impressed by the possibility that international hostility could be anticipated, a possibility that Kennan's reports made feasible.[6]

Kennan was brought home during 1946 and assigned as a lecturer at the Naval War College, and during this time, Forrestal prompted him to write out his thoughts on the subject of dealing with the Soviets. The resulting essay made a significant impact on the Truman administration, so significant in fact that in the Spring of 1947 Kennan was named Chief of the newly created Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, a research and advisory council charged with the task of providing long range policy alternatives.

In attempting to explain Soviet conduct, Kennan in effect was disclosing for American leaders the method to the Soviet madness, thereby alleviating their disorientation and ambiguity. His 1946 essay, published pseudonymously in 1947 under the title "Sources of Soviet Conduct," plus at least one other major essay, "America and the Russian Future," (1951) constitute the basic planning statements of the official United States policy of containment. Seen as an attempt to make sense out of the post-War world, Kennan's work represents a major chapter in modern American intellectual history.

"Sources of Soviet Conduct" is an analysis of the "political personality of Soviet Power." Kennan described that personality as a product of the interaction between a consistently-held communist ideology and the historical circumstances in good part fashioned by that ideology. Understanding this interaction, he implied, will allow the United States to chart its international actions more fruitfully by anticipating Soviet conduct.

The most important Soviet belief, Kennan asserted, is that capitalism ". . . contains the seeds of its own destruction," a destruction which will necessitate war between capitalist and socialist states.

In desiring the Soviet Union to be "tolerant, communicative, and forthright," Kennan had in mind one major benefit:making the job of the diplomat more congenial.

Although inevitable, capitalism's destruction must be coaxed; it will be consistently tending in that direction until the proletarian revolutionaries of the world provide the explosive catalyst. Since, according to Marxism, it is in the nature of things that capitalism destroy itself, the Soviet Union feels no haste; their foreign policy, Kennan asserted, can be oriented toward a slow building of pressure, a full willingness to make tactical retreats where necessary, and to lie low: always, though, in persistent sight of the final goal.

Soviet diplomatic truculence, so bothersome to U.S. leaders, is the product of this world view, Kennan continued. The Kremlin's sense of infallibility about the inevitable outcome of history gives them an air of belligerence, as if all others were merely unknowing puppets dancing to the forces of history. Kennan, therefore, took special note of the Soviet's lack of "Anglo-Saxon traditions of compromise," their ". . . practices of iron discipline and obedience and not . . . the arts of compromise and accommodation."

Aware of the Soviet's belief that capitalism will destroy itself, and interpreting their belligerence and aggressiveness in that context, Kennan went on to state briefly, in an oft-quoted summary of the containment policy, his recommendation for United States policy in the present circumstances: ". . . Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western Worlds," he said, "is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy. . . ."[7] This was to be a diplomatic policy, he implied here but made more explicit in later works, meant to "tide us over" until political change within the Soviet Union would allow us to ". . . discuss effectively with the Russians. . . ."[8]

The 1951 essay, "America and the Russian Future," is a thematic continuation of the earlier essay. Kennan asked two related questions here: What is it America should *not* expect of the Soviet Union? and What is it America *may* expect? In reviewing his answers, we move a major step closer to a full understanding of the criterion which animates American policy.

Briefly stated, first: we should not expect to see a capitalistic society as we know it develop in the Soviet Union. Second, we cannot expect the

development of a ". . . liberal democratic Russia along American patterns." Without being specific, Kennan advised Americans to be tolerant of whatever form of government evolves there provided that ". . . it keeps within certain well-defined limits, beyond which lies totalitarianism." And, in any case, the entire political-social-economic system within the U.S.S.R. is *not* our concern at all, and the U.S. should not base its actions on such matters.

These rather conventional assertions were hardly original with Kennan. Much more revealing are his projections of what we *may* expect. First, we may look for a Russian government which "would be tolerant, communicative and forthright *in its relations with other states and peoples.*" (my emphasis) At this point, he alluded to the desirability of certain temperamental qualities: e.g., ". . . an atmosphere of emotional sanity and moderation," and his context makes clear that he was talking about diplomacy, and not about physical aggression. In desiring the Soviet Union to be "tolerant, communicative and forthright," Kennan had in mind, in this context, one major benefit: making the job of the diplomat more congenial.

Second in a revealing reiteration of an earlier assertion, Kennan stated that we must accept whatever form of government evolves in the Soviet Union, but we may expect that it will ". . . stop short of that fairly plain line beyond which lies totalitarianism." One reason totalitarianism is unacceptable, he said, is a "less than solid reason," namely, that we experience shock ". . . at witnessing the sickening details of this type of oppression." But "a reason even more solid," is that to carry out totalitarian oppression requires a political apparatus of coercion which isolates that nation from others; to secure its power at home, furthermore, that nation must portray the rest of the world to its citizens as predators seeking to destroy them. Thus, totalitarianism is most rightfully objectionable because it poisons international relations. "The world," Kennan stated,

> is not only heartily sick of this comedy [of totalitarianism] by reason of the endless and wearisome falsehoods it involves, but it has learned to recognize it as something so irresponsible and dangerous that, maintained for any length of time, it easily becomes a major hazard for world peace and stability. It is for this reason that we, while recognizing that all distinctions as between freedom and authority are relative and admitting that 90 per cent of them are no business of ours when they affect a foreign country, still insist that there is an area here in which no government of a great country can move without creating the most grievous and weighty problems for its neighbors.[9]

And so we arrive at the surprisingly simple conclusion that the basic factor in diplomatic relations is the art of diplomacy itself. In the context I have given, Kennan's point is very clear: the U.S. does not uphold an ideology of freedom, but urges at least minimal freedom for other people—shall we say 10%—so that national governments will remain congenial to the diplomatic arts of mutual compromise and accommodation, which is the basic need in international relations. Kennan tells us, in effect, that post-war intransigent Russia may yet become as compromising and accommodating as the United States.

ENTER DIEM

During the years of the late 1940's and the early 1950's, when American policy leaders were getting their own perspective on the world, crucial but often unpublicized events occurred which, by a logic I hope to capture, have since culminated in America's active and disastrous championship of the Republic of South Vietnam. In order to see that alliance in the context of America diplomatic judgment and planning, it will be helpful to ascertain the nature of the South Vietnamese regime as it was molded by Ngo Dinh Diem from 1954 to 1963, then briefly the diplomatic character of Diem's regime, and finally, the factor which possibly explains America's assessment of that nation.

In 1954, during the French withdrawal from Indochina, the Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai invited his former Minister of the Interior, Ngo Dinh Diem, to assume the premiership of the Republic of Vietnam, since 1950 a rival to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by Ho Chi Minh. Bao Dai, now after the French defeat, offered Diem absolute powers, and on June 19, 1954, Diem accepted the position. The following year Diem, through his family and other connections in the city of Hue, managed to have Bao Dai deposed, and in a follow-up plebiscite, the corruption of which, in one writer's words, would put Ho Chi Minh to shame, Diem received 98.2% of the vote, many voting districts around Saigon reporting more votes than registered voters!

In 1956, a constituent assembly accepted a Diem-written constitution. This Constitution of the Republic of Vietnam provided for a strong central government, modelled on a medley of English, French and American constitutional provisions. It provided for a strong president, with particularly wide powers over the budget. One final clause, Article 98, however, was probably unique in constitutional history: Article 98 suspended the whole Constitution from Article 97 on back, for the duration of the first legislative term, i.e., until 1961. In *that* year, the National Assembly, by that time wholly under Diem's authority, declared a state of emergency, voted Diem a continuation of plenary powers, and renewed those powers in subsequent years. During this period, from 1954 until his assassination in 1963, Diem, assisted by his powerful brothers, relatives, and associates, governed South Vietnam with full autocratic power, and by the late 1950's, ". . . long before Communist

guerrilla warfare gave them a semblance of justification. . . ." these leaders, with Diem at the apex of power, had achieved a dictatorship more than comparable in its repressiveness to the Hanoi regime, although reputedly much less efficient. [10]

Diem and his older brother Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc, together with the younger brother Ngo Dinh Nhu and his redoubtable wife, fostered the philosophy of "personalism," a highly ambiguous doctrine of Catholic feudalism which Diem had learned from French religious writers during his years in Paris, and which upheld the feudal ideal of a society of stability and rigid status.

To achieve a better Vietnam, by this definition, Diem promulgated numerous decrees throughout his years of power. He decreed rigid controls on all forms of communication; concentration camps were established; commerce was severely restricted; industrialism was actively discouraged—despite American unhappiness about it—and when it was allowed, the government demanded full control through majority stock interest. In 1962, he decreed that all forms of assembly, even special family gatherings, were required to have police authorization, the lines of power going directly to brother Nhu and Diem. At the same time, he created the so-called "front line Military Tribunals," empowered to make judicial decisions throughout the countryside, without appeal except to the President himself. The court system was weakened by fearful judges, appointed and dismissed by Diem, although many cases never got beyond the military tribunals.

The bizarre nature of Diem's "personalist" ideal, the dictatorial capacity of his regime, and the political, moral and intellectual bankruptcy which resulted were painfully brought to a focus in the so-called Law for the Protection of Morality, promoted by Mme. Nhu from 1958 until its passage in 1962. On many occasions in the early 1960's, guerrillas battled in the outskirts of Saigon while the National Assembly was kept busy debating such issues as dancing, sentimental songs, padded bras and prostitution.

These were the tragic-ludicrous realities of a nation about which at least three American presidents and countless others around the world had spoken in the glowing rhetoric of freedom, democratic process and enlightened national self-determination. Journalist-historian Bernard Fall, before dying in that nation, wrote that Diem had adopted ". . . methods in every field of endeavor which tended to blur the differences between its brand of totalitarianism and that of the Communist North. The 17th Parallel," he concluded, ". . . separates two systems practicing virtually the same rituals, but invoking different deities." [11]

DIPLOMACY PAYS

Given Diem's anti-capitalist feudalism, resulting in a dictatorship hardly distinguishable from that of Communist North Vietnam, what accounts for American support of his regime? I believe the basic reason lies in the fact that over a number of years, Diem had shown himself to be a master of the diplomatic arts. Further, he had shown an ability to overcome domestic crises, and most importantly to the U.S., the ability to prevent such crises from unsettling international relations. While often volatile and obstinate with American leaders, he had established himself as a man at least open to compromise and accommodation; in other words, contrary to the usual view, it was possible to get to first base with Diem. [12]

Guerillas battled in the outskirts of Saigon while the National Assembly was kept busy debating such issues as dancing, sentimental songs, padded bras, and prostitution.

He had begun that feat as early as 1950. In August of that year, he and Thuc travelled to Rome for Church celebrations. Following that, in September and October, Diem visited the U.S., meeting with a small group of influential men, among them Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York and official Catholic Chaplain of the U.S. Military Services. Diem spoke fervently to these men of the need to end French colonial rule, to establish a new nationalist government, and the defeat of the Vietminh insurgency forces.

After a brief trip to Europe, Diem returned to the U.S. in 1951 and spent two years at the Maryknoll Seminaries at Lakewood, New Jersey and Ossining, New York; he lectured at eastern and mid-western universities. During this time, according to a 1955 article in *TIME,* Cardinal Spellman led Diem on ". . . trip after trip to Washington to harangue Congressmen and government officials in the cause of Vietnamese independence," and among his "sympathetic" listeners were Senators Mike Mansfield and John F. Kennedy, Representative Walter Judd, and Justice William O. Douglas. [13]

The lasting impact of these personal negotiations helps explain American willingness to work with Diem. The full details of that impact will not be known for many years, but we do have clues. For example, in 1954, when news coverage of Diem's use of millions of U.S. dollars to buy support from religious sect leaders caused controversy in Washington, a "sympathetic" Senator Mansfield on October 15 submitted a sharply-worded report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee objecting to any over-

throw of Diem, saying that if that event occurred, the U.S. should suspend all but humanitarian aid to Vietnam. Then on the 23rd of October and on January 1st, 1955, President Eisenhower in public letters to Diem affirmed and reaffirmed the policy of direct American aid to his government.

On a wider international scale, Diem directed South Vietnam's diplomatic relations in a manner that brought recognition and cooperation from countless nations of every continent of the world; Diem was always at least approachable. South Vietnam won acceptance among countries of the Afro-Asian bloc, as well as the Western nations; it participated in every conceivable international organization and conference. Added to these formal actions were the personal contacts made by Diem's associates; for example, the fiery but personable Mme. Nhu could wield an intriguing charm in personal diplomacy all out of keeping with her nickname "Dragon Lady." Her visits to the U.S. and Mexico in 1962 and 1963 attest to her powers of friendly persuasion.[14]

Diem himself was unsurpassed in these efforts. The success of his 1957 visit to the U.S. resulted from his ability to cultivate established contacts and to show himself still very much the accommodating ally. According to Chester Cooper,

> His speech to a joint session of Congress was enthusiastically received, and the press generally was favorable. His remarks on Capital Hill had just the right mix of humility, gratitude, and determination and were shrewdly designed to fit the current mood of Congress. Diem thanked the United States for its "generous and unselfish assistance" and he pledged to "continue to fight Communism." He was described by the *NEW YORK TIMES* as an "Asian liberator, a man of tenacity of purpose, a stubborn man . . . bent on succeeding, a man whose life—all of it—is devoted to his country and to his God."[15]

JUDGING HO

Briefly, in contrast to Diem's diplomatic arts, Ho Chi Minh's regime cultivated few international ties, before or after the exit of France from Indochina. His relations even with so-called noncommitted and third world nations were distant. Indeed, in matters such as foreign representation in the social and economic life of North Vietnam, international participation, and tourism, Ho Chi Minh went beyond simple aloofness by making evident his deep suspicions of the outside world. North Vietnam, Fall wrote, ". . . chose to surround itself with a wall of aggressive suspicion. . . . The world, as seen from Hanoi, must be full of menace. . . ."[16]

It is true, as recent writers stress, that Ho conducted himself with considerable tact on various occasions, e.g., in 1946 during the initial post-War negotiations with France. However, such conduct ultimately failed to persuade American planners. Why so?

At that time, particularly in late 1946, the U.S. was confronted with what appeared to be a resurgent French colonialism in Indochina and simultaneously the maturing of an articulate native nationalism. So we find in the State Department Indochina documents for 1946 item after item reflecting American probing into the nature of Ho and his Vietnam regime, particularly with regard to the matter of communism. The import of these documents is that the U.S. felt itself approaching a necessary choice between French colonial maneuvering, which even included the tendency to ". . . picture US as aggressive and imperialistic," and a native movement which Americans for the moment perceived as a confusing blend of nationalism and international communism.

The mute desperation experienced over this dilemma can be seen in the search even for *shreds* of evidence with which to judge Ho; for example, Acting Secretary of State Acheson sought from Consul Reed in Saigon the official explanation given for Viet Nam's flag, a gold star on a red field: "The official Vietnam explanation of the Vietnam flag would be especially interesting in view of Ho Chi Minh's denial of Communist orientation on the part of his government."[17]

The emphasis on Ho's communism was entirely characteristic of the American evaluation throughout that period. Acheson, in December 1946, telegraphed a deputy who was about to confer with Ho, to

> Keep in mind Ho's clear record as agent international communism, absence evidence recantation Moscow affiliations, confused political situation France and support Ho receiving French Communist Party. Least desirable eventuality would be establishment Communist-dominated, Moscow-oriented state Indochina in view Dept., which most interested info strength non-communist elements Vietnam.[18]

So, by the end of 1946 at least, the United States exercised a set of attitudes and precautions based on the pivotal consideration of the international consequences of national communism. Three years later, when the Soviet Union recognized Ho's regime, Acheson reportedly commented dramatically that Moscow's recognition ". . . should remove any illusions as to the 'nationalist' nature of Ho Chi Minh's aims and reveals Ho in his true colors, as the mortal enemy of native independence."[19] The tone of that comment reflected the binding force of the American conception that as communism becomes embodied in political realities, the international consequences are predictable and disastrous.

CONTAINMENT

To conclude: I think we see at work, in America's alliance with South Vietnam, the factor which for American leaders makes the world an understandable place. The experience of dealing with

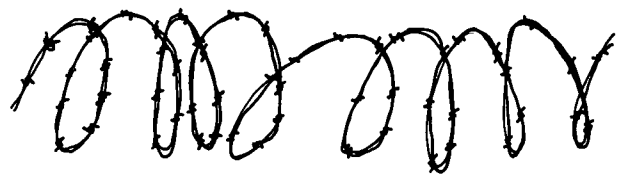
Diem and his associates "conformed" to the guidelines set out by Kennan and others in the policy of containment. Having left behind the disorientation and fears of the immediate post-War years, American leaders placed highest premium upon diplomatic openness to compromise and accommodation. Containment, then, meant exactly what Kennan said it meant, in the context in which he said it. Containment of communism did not basically refer to communist military expansion: no American leader seriously believed the Soviet Union would risk war with the United States, a risk which was discounted in two top-secret State Department reports in the 1940's.[20] Containment of communism was not even a commitment to oppose the ideology of communism per se, but only insofar as the expansion of it encouraged the spread of a hostile and aggressive attitude among the world's nations. As Kennan had said, the U.S. is concerned with that ideology, or any dictatorship, to the extent that it may poison international relations.

As a statement of foreign policy, therefore, the containment doctrine announced the American intention to oppose any expansion of diplomatic aggression. America's basic interest has been that other nations be "underspoken" enough, tractable enough, that the U.S. may confront them for compromise and accommodation over more specific issues.[21]

This basic interest has been a traditional goal of great powers, but the containment policy and its earliest official expression, the Truman Doctrine, went beyond by announcing the U.S. intention to intervene by various means at the source of the problem—the domestic systems of nations around the world. Although outside the scope of this article, the uniqueness of this policy is probably more than merely a quantitative step-up in interventionism.[22] As we saw in Kennan, it based our security interest on the delicate ideological-diplomatic link between a nation's structure and its international conduct. The containment theory anticipated that the main if not exclusive source of international conflict would be the communist ideology as it became embodied in political form. So, in the attempt to locate potential threats to the international status quo, decision-makers focused on ideological affiliations as shorthand criteria for anticipating future developments. Of course the containment theory offered no radical or noncontradictory alternative to communism, because to do so, e.g., by encouraging a radically libertarian society, would be to repudiate the existing statist power structure in the United States.

In studying the subject, if this ideological-diplomatic context is ignored, one is left with symptoms of a mystifying American urge to world dominance. And this is the gross error of those who have argued, and approvingly, that the post-War world marked an "end of ideology" and must be understood in that framework. On the contrary, the key to recent policies of state is that American leaders have purused a traditional statist ideology, and that all other judgments and actions occurred in light of that consideration.

From that standpoint, the emperor's problem was not his nakedness, but rather to bring up an unruly neighboring prince to join in the game. ◻



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[1] Kennan, *MEMOIRS, 1925-1950* (Boston 1967), pp. 350-51.
[2] Letter to William Benton, quoted by Berger, "A Conservative Critique of Containment," in David Horowitz, ed., *CONTAINMENT AND REVOLUTION* (Boston 1967), pp. 126-27.
[3] Vandenberg, *PRIVATE PAPERS* (Boston 1952), p. 348.
[4] Acheson, *PRESENT AT THE CREATION* (New York 1969), pp. 3-4.
[5] Forrestal, *DIARIES* (New York 1951), p. 354 and 482.
[6] Kennan recalled that the affect of his longest cable ". . . was nothing less than sensational." His further comments are instructive: "It was one of those moments when official Washington . . . was ready to receive a given message. . . . All this only goes to show that more important than the observable nature of external reality, when it comes to the determination of Washington's view of the world, is the subjective state of readiness on the part of Washington officialdom to recognize this or that feature of it," *MEMOIRS,* pp. 294-95.
[7] Kennan, *AMERICAN DIPLOMACY* (New York, Mentor Book), p. 99.
[8] *MEMOIRS,* p. 365
[9] *AMERICAN DIPLOMACY,* pp. 114-15.
[10] Bernard B. Fall, *THE TWO VIETNAMS* (New York 1963), p. 270.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 386, 388.
[12] See Ambassador Elbridge Durbrow's cablegram to Secretary of State Herter, September 16, 1960, Document #16, *THE PENTAGON PAPERS* (New York 1971), p. 116. That Diem's inability or unwillingness to continue such maneuvering paved the way for U.S. involvement in his overthrow is clearly shown in, e.g., State Department cablegram to Ambassador Lodge, August 24, 1963, Document #35, p. 194.
[13] Fall, *TWO VIET-NAMS,* pp. 242-43; Joseph Buttinger, *VIETNAM* (New York 1968), p. 385.
[14] Fall, *TWO VIET-NAMS,* pp. 388-89.
[15] Cooper, *THE LAST CRUSADE* (New York 1970), p. 153.
[16] Fall, *TWO VIET-NAMS,* pp. 384-85.
[17] U.S. Dept. of State, *FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES,* 1946, v. 8, pp. 57-58. Acheson to Reed, October 9, 1946, p. 61. American probing, pp. 61ff.
[18] *Ibid.,* December 5, 1946, pp. 67-69.
[19] *NEWSWEEK,* February 13, 1950, p. 24.
[20] See Forrestal, *DIARIES,* p. 409, 508; and Vandenberg, *PAPERS,* p. 286, pp. 346-50.
[21] I think that the federal government's relations with major nongovernmental leaders and organizations in domestic affairs throughout this century have been animated by the same basic interest. In that sense, America's recent and highly publicized international actions are a symptom of older and less publicized realities at home.
[22] See Robert W. Tucker, *THE RADICAL LEFT AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY* (Baltimore 1971), p. 107.

editorial

CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT

The amazing thing about the continuously unfolding saga of corruption in Washington is not that it *exists;* surely the readers of this magazine are not surprised that these things are taking place in our increasingly fascistic mixed economy. Rather, it is the sustained attention and interest focused on these matters by a courageous press and an outraged public that is surprising—and heartening. To be sure, people have always been skeptical of politicians, and the press has undoubtedly known more than they have told, over the past decades. But people have been curiously reticent to talk about these things, to admit the extent to which corruption was a way of life in government—until now.

Although the current disillusionment with government is a very healthy thing, there is a real danger that the most important lesson of the current scandals will be missed. For there is a common thread running through all the incidents, one that the press has not hidden, but has failed to identify and focus on. Let's look at a few examples:

The Milk Deal: In 1971 the Associated Milk Producers offered the Administration $2 million in campaign help in exchange for import quotas against foreign dairy products. In 1972, they contributed $400,000 in exchange for a 10% increase in federal milk price supports. Since the increased subsidy netted $500-700 million in additional revenues, the milk producers got back 1500 times what they paid. That kind of leverage is hard to beat.

The Agnew Affair: Our former vice-president received regular payoffs from road and building contractors in exchange for favorable treatment in bidding on government contracts. A Maryland bank received the State's lucrative bond business only after coming through with "contributions" to Agnew.

The Gurney Booster Fund: Building contractors in Florida paid into a secret bank account in order to obtain influence in getting FHA contracts. One builder has told a Miami grand jury that he was promised influence through Gurney's office if he would pay $500 per house for each FHA-subsidized housing contract.

Rebozo's Bank: The Nixon Administration twice reversed the strong recommendations of two federal bank examiners that a group of businessmen be permitted to open a bank on Key Biscayne in competition with the island's sole existing bank, headed by Nixon pal Bebe Rebozo. Just one month after the Treasury Department ruled that the businessmen had shown only a "marginal banking need," the Federal Home Loan Bank Board granted two directors of Rebozo's bank a charter for a new savings and loan institution on Key Biscayne. The Board justified the S&L using *the same economic figures* that Rebozo had provided the Treasury Department to show that there was insufficient demand for loans to warrant a second bank on the island. Approval of the S&L had been turned down twice before, and was finally granted only after a Nixon appointee was named to head the Board.

The Hughes Caper: Howard Hughes contributed $50,000 in cash to Nixon (via Rebozo) in 1969, and another $50,000 in 1970. In 1969 the CAB decided to allow Hughes to purchase ailing Air West, and in 1970 the Justice Department dropped its antitrust opposition to Hughes' acquisition of additional Las Vegas casinos.

In each of these cases, the common element is that of businessmen influencing government officials to grant them economic favors, either in preference to other businessmen, or at the expense of consumers. The businessmen pay the government to be exempted from the forces of the marketplace (or, as in the case of Hughes, from arbitrary, unjust government regulations). The fact that, in many cases, the money is given in the form of "campaign contributions" is completely beside the point. Those who advocate cleaning up corruption by "reforming" campaign financing are either hopelessly naive, or are as uninterested in stopping corruption as the politicians themselves.

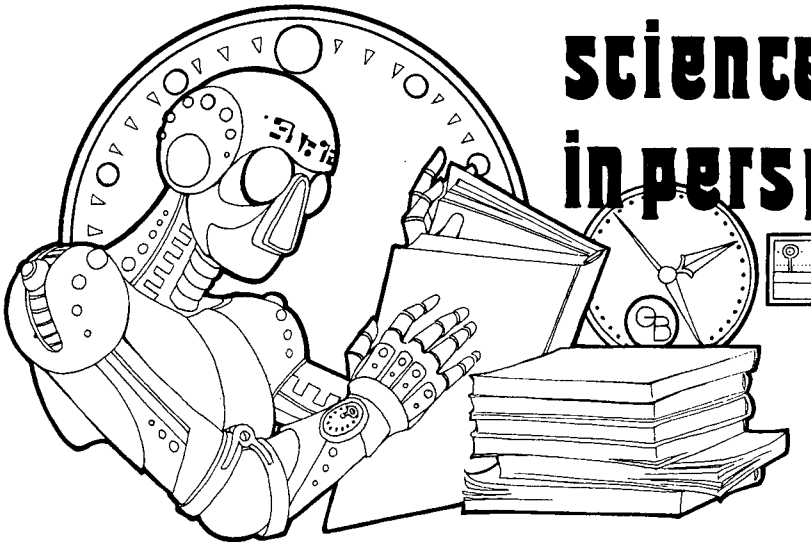
It is only the existence of massive government interference in the economic life of the country that makes it possible for government officials to grant economic favors. Study after study has shown the economic inefficiencies of government regulation and intervention, and the harm caused to consumers and to innovative, competitive businessmen. The free marketplace can do a far better job of providing goods and services, *and politicians know this.* They also know that the only way they can continue to remain in the position of granting economic favors to those who will pay is to make people think that the free market *can't* handle things and would produce chaos, when in fact the exact opposite is true. In the cases cited above:

- Why shouldn't milk producers price their product in the marketplace like all other food producers?
- Why can't the money now spent on government housing and highway programs be left in the capital market, to finance entrepreneurs who can build economically-justified roads and housing?
- Why can't banks be left free to compete like shoe stores and supermarkets, with branches wherever they can make a go of it, and innovative, competitive services?
- Why can't we repeal the antitrust laws, which penalize efficiency and competence, and retard U.S. companies in international trade?
- Why can't the CAB be abolished, to let the airlines compete on price and service, instead of on trivialities like steak and movies?

It is the existence of laws and regulations like these that gives politicians their license to peddle influence. We shall have corruption as long as these powers remain in the politicians' hands.

At the height of the McCarthy era, outspoken individualist Frank Chodorov commented that the way to get rid of communists in government jobs is to eliminate the government jobs. His point is well taken. The way to eliminate corruption in the government's economic functions is to eliminate those government functions.

ROBERT POOLE, JR.



science fiction in perspective

JOHN J PIERCE

John Pierce's Science Fiction column alternates monthly in REASON *with Davis Keeler's Money column.*

CREATED WORLDS

Once upon a time, planets were nice places to visit—but nobody would want to live there.

But today, the created world—with its own geography and ecology, people and customs—is one of the major attractions of science fiction, and some of the worlds of SF have come to seem as real as our own.

Travel to other worlds is nothing new in SF, of course. The solar system is a pretty small place, cosmically speaking—and cosmologists seem to agree planetary systems must be commonplace in the universe. This knowledge gives a great deal of freedom to modern SF writers—they know there must be planets out there someplace, but they don't know where they are or what they're like, so they can go ahead and create any kind they want—subject only to the laws of science and probability.

FROM TARZAN TO MARS

That isn't how the idea of the created world came into science fiction in the first place, however. For that we have to credit, more than anyone else, Edgar Rice Burroughs. Burroughs is world famous as the creator of Tarzan, but his claim to fame in science fiction is the world of "Barsoom."

It was all quite accidental. Burroughs wrote *A PRINCESS OF MARS* in 1911 after failing in everything else but deciding—after a glance through stories in the pulp magazines of the day—that even *he* couldn't write anything worse! He was so sheepish about it that he used a pseudonym.

As early as 1903, H. G. Wells had created a lunar environment with a really alien feel to it in *THE FIRST MEN IN THE MOON*—but in spite of a brilliant description of a lunar sunrise, and of dormant plants proliferating in seemingly-barren craters, the idea didn't quite catch on. The novel as a whole was devoted more to sociological satire.

But some of the Wellsian imagery—from that novel, perhaps even from the earlier vision of a decadent future Earth in *THE TIME MACHINE*—rubbed off on Burroughs when he set down his own vision of an ancient and decaying Martian civilization where warring species of humanoids compete for dominion over the remaining canals and dead sea bottoms.

By contemporary standards, *A PRINCESS OF MARS* is more science fantasy than science fiction. John Carter, the hero, travels to Mars by astral projection. The geography of the planet doesn't conform even to the addled vision of Percival Lowell. The sociology isn't consistent. And John Carter fathering children—by a princess who lays eggs?!

Yet somehow this Ruritanian romance transplanted to another planet *works.* It has what Roger Zelazny once called "world vision" as opposed to "stage vision"—meaning it seems real enough that the hero could go *anywhere* in it and still find himself in another wondrous part of that world, rather than out in the wings, with prop men scurrying out of the way.

Burroughs' first novel was so successful that it spawned 10 sequels and inspired a host of imitators. That this kind of science fantasy adventure, with its sword-play and derring-do across exotic landscapes peopled with strange beasts and men hasn't lost its appeal is shown, not only by the reprintings of Burroughs' novels, but by the success of John Norman's *TARNSMAN OF GOR* (1966) and its sequels—despite their stylistic limitations and intrusive male chauvinist philosophy.

But the conception of the created world has evolved considerably since Burroughs' day. One path has been followed by Leigh Brackett, a top writer for Hollywood (she collaborated on *THE LONG GOODBYE*) as well as SF. Brackett places as much emphasis on mood and atmosphere as on adventure in such works as *THE SWORD OF RHIANNON* (1953) and *THE COMING OF THE TERRANS* (1967).

Not only are Brackett's alien cultures far more original than Burroughs', but her created (although labeled "Mars" or "Venus") worlds are usually in regular contact with Earth—and moral and cultural conflicts play a leading role in her plots. The integrity of her worlds is threatened as much by external imperialism as internal decadence.

This sort of conflict becomes even more explicit in Ray Bradbury's *THE MARTIAN CHRONICLES* (1950), which some purists like Frederik Pohl have criticized for being laid on "a mythical planet which for some reason he insists on calling Mars." A more valid criticism is that the created world tends to take a back seat to the morality play in Bradbury's book, which otherwise has an undeniable stylistic and imaginative brilliance.

(continued on p. 24)

THIS PLAN CAN PROTECT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY FROM RUNAWAY INFLATION AND EMPTY NATIONAL GRANARIES

OBTAIN FULLY ADEQUATE AND TASTY MEALS AT 43¢ EACH, WHILE ACQUIRING, AT NO EXTRA COST, FOOD INSURANCE AGAINST THE INCREASING POSSIBILITY OF A REAL FOOD CRISIS

Consider the power black-outs, fuel shortages, accelerated depreciation of the dollar, gold at the $100 per ounce level, and sky-rocketing food prices. Who expected this to happen with such magnitude so soon?

Consider also this: In view of deteriorating U. S. military, economic, and political conditions, it is likely that this country faces a catastrophic crisis in the near future. Nothing effective is being done to change the trend, and matters will get much worse before there is a reversal.

Therefore, as a measure of insurance, it is time to stock up on gold coins (if you have not already done so), plus a food supply which can be used in case of emergency, as well as for every day utilization, should nothing adverse occur. With passing time, acquisition of such a supply is becoming more costly.

Last year the U.S. had an overabundance of food. This year much of our food is in Russia, while some of our domestic prices (including prices of storable items such as wheat) are 3 times higher than previous to the give-away.

We have seen that farmers have killed newly hatched chickens, for the feed has become too expensive due to the "sale" to the Soviet Union. And the Secretary of Agriculture assured us that food rationing is unlikely. (Could anyone foresee the need for such "assurances" in 1972?)

During the last five years, we emphasized acquisition of gold coins as a security investment in our advertisements in the Wall Street Journal, Barron's, Human Events, American Opinion, Reason, and other publications. Those who bought these coins through us already realized great benefits. Now we are advocating acquisition of a ready reserve food supply <u>also</u> as a security investment. Reflection on the past and on what politicians have done and are doing to this country, show this to be necessary. (Thus, while in summer of 1973 it became known that our domestic granaries were almost depleted, a huge U. S. food sale to Red China, on extremely dubious terms, was announced. The food is to come from future crops, as there were practically no reserves left for use of the Red China transaction after shipment to the Soviet Union.)

Nearly all grocery stores now sell packaged and canned foods. However, these items are not designed for lengthy storage and quickly lose freshness and taste, as well as important vitamins. In addition, grocery store items take up considerable space and are heavy. Nor have the drying methods used for thousands of years for food storage proved satisfactory. Their appeal, even before becoming completely stale or spoiled, was always far from desirable. To correct this, the so-called "Low-Moisture" methods were developed about 23 years ago. Their value in providing fully adequate and <u>attractive</u> meals has since then been well proven. However, new developments in this field have improved these products even further. Low-moisture foods were used by the climbers of Mount Everest, and were taken along by our astronauts to the moon. Low-moisture foods are also completely practical and easy to prepare for normal, everyday household consumption. Yet, they last up to 15 years and longer without requiring refrigeration, while their reduction in weight and space of 75% (compared with grocery store items) makes it possible to keep a one or more year supply in a house or garage.

Our Salt Lake City processor has over 20 years of experience (it is the oldest in this field) in providing balanced, low-moisture foods which excel in nutrient, vitamin and mineral contents, as well as taste. The low-moisture methods used to achieve this require greater effort than the usual processes, but results—in terms of taste, nutrients, and longevity, as well as bulk and weight—are worth it. Moreover, cost to the consumer is surprisingly low. Fully adequate, appealing meals are provided at 43¢ each.

Expert design of the ready reserve food supply eliminates guess work as to what to store. This can be of utmost importance to health, especially if a food crisis persists longer than a few days. Fruits, vegetables, eggs, cheeses, grains, sugars, proteins, cooking aids, and a wide variety of other foods, certain to preclude monotony, are provided, together with a culinary book containing outstanding recipes, ideas, and suggestions for best utilization. You may use these foods in your everyday menu, while, at the same time, keeping enough in reserve against a food "black-out." (We can replenish your used up supplies as they are consumed.)

The desired results are achieved by: 1) dehydration of the food; 2) placing the dehydrated food in #10 size cans (a #10 size can is slightly smaller than a gallon); 3) evacuating the air from the cans, replacing it with an oxygen free atmosphere and sealing the cans; 4) packing the cans 6 to a carton of 7-3/8" by 12-3/4" by 18-3/4" dimensions. 20 such cartons weighing 600 pounds and occupying 2/3 of a cubic yard (you can fit them all in your car) provide a 12 month supply for 1 adult person at 2,450 calories per day. (The supply is so designed that either families or single or several adults may use it. While it may last 6 months for 2 adults, the proportional time decrease for a family with small children is less than for adults. Thus, for a family of 6 consisting of a father, mother, and 4 children aged 2 to 14 years, the supply will last longer than 2 months. This is because children consume less than adults.) Opening a sealed can will not cause spoilage for several months, thereby enabling full use of its ingredients.

The following is a list of the contents of the augmented yearly supply described here:

FRUITS: After restitution with water, the same as 103 lbs. of fresh fruits, consisting of apples, peaches, and fruit galaxy of apricots, grapes and cherries, providing 521 of 3 ounce servings.

VEGETABLES: After restitution with water, the same as 268 lbs. of fresh vegetables, consisting of carrots, green beans, sweet corn, tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes and peas. This provides 500 of 4 ounce servings.

SUGAR: 36 lbs. of granulated sugar. This is more than sufficient for normal use of one year.

MILK: After adding water to the powdered milk, the yield is 230 quarts of non-fat milk. At normal consumption of ½ quart per day, this is sufficient for more than a year.

CONCENTRATED VEGETABLE PROTEINS: This category provides a meat substitute, equivalent to the protein content of 100 lbs. of lean, fresh meat. Also 186 servings of bacon-flavored bits—excellent tasting.

GRAINS: Sufficient flour (or unground whole wheat, yielding the same amount) to provide 250 lbs. of rich, wholesome bread, or any other items the wheat may be used for. Also: 228 of 4 ounce servings of pinto beans; 84 of 4 ounce servings of quick cooking oats; 116 of 4 ounce servings of elbow macaroni; 96 of 4 ounce servings of yellow cornmeal; 279 of 4 ounce servings of rice.

EGGS: 384 eggs (32 dozen) in powdered form, providing more than one egg per day for a year.

CHEESE: 128 of one ounce servings of cheese.

GELATIN DESSERT: 256 of 4 ounce servings of gelatin dessert.

BREAKFAST DRINK: 320 of 4 ounce servings of grape, grapefruit, orange, or pineapple drinks.

SHORTENING: 39 pounds.

MARGARINE: 10 pounds.

SUPPLEMENTS: Cornstarch sufficient to make 96 pounds of pies, or other uses; minced onions to provide 384 one ounce servings; beef bouillon for 218 servings of 6 fluid ounces each; chicken flavored and beef flavored gravy for 384 of 2 ounce servings; iodized salt sufficient for more than one year; adequate baking powder and yeast. (Note: none of the items listed here require special care or refrigeration for long term shelf life. However, yeast and baking powder will stay fresh longer if kept in cold storage.)

It can be seen that the READY RESERVE supply provides highly nutritious food, with a high protein, high mineral and vitamin content, sufficient for maintaining good health; and that the 2,450 calories per day, thus furnished for one year, are well balanced. While the food is easy to prepare and use, the book, CULINARY CAPERS, which comes with the supply, contains beneficial instructions and suggestions.

Cost of the yearly supply is $470 plus shipping charges (varying between $30 and $80 depending on location). This is a bargain even if we never have a food "black-out." Thus, if nothing else, the ready reserve supply serves as a hedge against burgeoning prices. But, should a food crisis occur, the supply can be vital for sheer survival.

Because of worsening inflation, we can expect further price increases. Therefore, we urge you not to delay even one day, as our politicians are not making things better for American consumers. If your order is received within 2 weeks after reading this notice, we will send free of charge as a bonus the two following important books: 1) PASSPORT TO SURVIVAL; 2) FAMOUS MORMON RECIPES.

Our emphasis here on food is not intended to downgrade the importance of gold coins. If we learn from history, we can expect the dollar to go the way of the German Mark in 1923. Much worse monetary conditions are probably coming, and it is not too late to begin or enlarge a supply of gold coins. We offer: U. S. $20 gold coins at $190 each; Mexican 50 Pesos at $172 each; Mexican 20 Pesos at $70 each; Mexican 10 Pesos at $35 each; British Sovereigns at $41 each. Call for latest prices and quantity orders. Fully insured coin shipping charges paid by us.

All U. S. gold coins in uncirculated condition. All foreign gold coins in extra fine to uncirculated condition. Many other gold coins also available, plus uncirculated and circulated silver dollars and other silver coins.

IMPORTANT NOTICE:

Many persons wishing to have food insurance for themselves and/or families and short of cash, have asked us if the food can be obtained on a time payment basis. Nevada Coin Exchange is normally not receptive to sell on a basis which places customers more in debt. But, food is more vital for survival than any other purchasable item. Therefore, we made arrangements with Master Charge to enable time payments (or cash pay-outs) with them for food. If you wish to use this service, please fill in your Master Charge number as indicated on the order form.

FULL GUARANTEE:

If unsatisfied, you may return coins and/or food ordered to Nevada Coin Exchange within ten days for a complete refund of your purchase, plus a complete refund of any shipping charges.

ORDER FORM

PLEASE SEND:

1. A _____ year(s) supply of READY RESERVE FOOD at $470 per one year supply, together with the book, CULINARY CAPERS. I understand that this supply provides fully adequate and tasty meals at 43¢ each. If I ordered within 2 weeks from reading this notice, you are also to send me free of charge the books PASSPORT TO SURVIVAL, and FAMOUS MORMON RECIPES. I may obtain at request free information on hand or power grinders, water purifiers, breadmixers, survival and/or recipe books, and other supplies.
2. Gold coins (indicate type and quantity desired):

_____ pieces of U. S. $20 gold coins at $190 each, containing .9675 net Troy Ounce gold per coin.

_____ pieces of Mexican 50 gold Pesos at $172 each, containing 1.2056 Troy Ounce gold per coin.

_____ pieces of Mexican 20 gold Pesos at $70 each, containing .4823 net Troy Ounce gold per coin.

_____ pieces of Mexican 10 gold Pesos at $35 each, containing .24115 net Troy Ounce gold per coin.

_____ pieces of British gold Sovereigns at $41 each, containing .2354 net Troy Ounce gold per coin.

(Long distance phone charges reimbursed by us if order above $100 is placed.)

TOTAL FOR ORDERED FOOD AND/OR COINS $ _____

If unsatisfied, I may return coins and/or food ordered to Nevada Coin Exchange within 10 days for a complete refund of purchase, plus a complete refund of any shipping charges.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____ TELEPHONE _____

MASTER CHARGE NUMBER (Enter only if you wish to use it) _____

Check, money order, or other convenient form of payment for food and/or coins acceptable. You may also use Master Charge for food. Send order to:

NEVADA COIN EXCHANGE (a subsidiary of Carson Development Corporation)
P. O. Box 485, 1104 West Sunset
Carson City, Nevada 89701
Telephone: Area Code 702, 882-2483

All food and coin prices subject to change without notice.

BANK REFERENCES AT REQUEST

NOTE: Coin orders shipped via fully insured mail (paid by us) from Carson City, Nevada. Food orders shipped from Utah via truck. Food shipping charges (varying from $30 to $80 depending on distance) payable by purchaser on receipt of order. We guarantee to pay the difference if food shipping charges exceed $80 within the 48 contiguous U. S. states. Shipping charges to the more populated parts of Alaska and Hawaii (i.e. Anchorage, Juneau, Honolulu, Hilo, etc.) are $70 to $120.

(continued from p. 21)

REALISTIC WORLDS

A different path was followed by L. Sprague deCamp in an effort to make honest science fiction out of the Burroughs-type adventure. His *VIAGENS INTERPLANETARIAS* (from a Brazilian space line that dominates interstellar commerce) series involves several planets of other stars with backward—but *realistic*—cultures. However, deCamp keeps the basic *appeal* of the Burroughs-Brackett romance in such novels as *THE HAND OF ZEI* (1951) and *THE TOWER OF ZANID* (1958)—the princesses are beautiful, even if they do have green skin and antennae, but of course they can't interbreed with humans (which doesn't, however, preclude sexual relationships).

It was also deCamp who originated the idea of a cultural embargo to protect native cultures from the danger of disintegrating under the too-sudden impact of modern science and technology (the notion has since become a staple of SF, even on *STAR TREK*). Problems of intervention figure in *THE TOWER OF ZANID, ROGUE QUEEN* (1951) and several stories of *THE CONTINENT MAKERS* (1953). But deCamp treats them in a light, humorous vein—totally unlike that of Brackett or Bradbury.

Several other successful writers have modified the Brackett-Burroughs formula to set adventures on imaginary worlds. Amond the best known are Andre Norton and Marion Zimmer Bradley, in whose worlds magic often co-exists with science, and in which the imagination of science fiction touches that of the epic fantasy of J. R. R. Tolkien and others.

Norton's *WITCH WORLD* series (1963-8), for example, is almost pure fantasy—although lacking the traditional props like dragons and elves. Bradley's Darkover, scene of a continuing series of novels since 1959, is the home of an apparent mixed race of humans and natives with occult powers. In yet another variation, Anne McCaffrey's epic *DRAGONFLIGHT* (1968) and *DRAGONQUEST* (1971) have native Dragons as the allies of human colonists—but are otherwise written in the manner of "hard" science fiction.

One of the best creators of worlds, however, is Jack Vance, whose strong point is the depiction of exotic—but still human—cultures on far planets. Vance avoids the supernatural or the mythical; his magic is in the cultures themselves. He began his career with a very moody series of stories about a fantasized future Earth (*THE DYING EARTH*, 1950), but most of his work is science fiction in the true sense.

Vance's cultures tend to be very static and formalized, and the plot usually centers either on some catastrophic event that challenges the security of the culture, or on the awakening of a hero who realizes he doesn't fit in and must find a new destiny—or both. In *THE DRAGON MASTERS* (1962), an isolated human colony tends its herds, aided by genetically modified descendants of an alien species that invaded the planet long ago. Then the aliens come back—with genetically-modified human allies.

In a recent Vance novel, *TRULLION: ALASTOR 2262* (1973), a major element in the culture is a sport called hussade. Hussade is totally imaginary, of course—but Vance's descriptions of matches, and of the sport's place in the culture and its importance to the hero, are so vivid that it seems as real as baseball or football. This attention to cultural detail is typical of all Vance's best work.

The most detailed created world novel ever written, however, has to be Frank Herbert's *DUNE* (1965): Herbert spent literally years working out the entire historical, ecological, and (this was a real innovation) religious background of his desert planet of Arrakis.

In *DUNE,* the harsh environment shapes the whole psychology of the people, already the inheritors of a cultural tradition that includes a Butlerian jihad against computers and partially-successful efforts to create a truly ecumenical religion. The political background—a sort of restored feudalism on a galactic scale—is less convincing, even though it shapes the plot and provides the origin for the messiah Muad'Dib.

On a somewhat less epic scale, the influence of new environments on human culture and psychology has figured in such novels as Ursula K. LeGuin's *PLANET OF EXILE* (1966), in which the created world has a year equal to 60 of our own—and a person born one spring may never live to see the next.

ALIEN OR ARTIFICIAL

Although the typical created-world science fiction novel deals with planets close enough to Earth in atmosphere and surface gravity to make suitable homes for humans, this isn't always the case.

Hal Clement is science fiction's master at creating worlds with non-human environments. His best novel, *MISSION OF GRAVITY* (1953), is set on a world 12 times the mass of Jupiter, which rotates so rapidly as to be shaped like the yolk of a fried egg (and thus have a surface gravity ranging from three times Earth's at the equator to 600 times at the poles), a methane atmosphere—and natives that look like centipedes, and are sharp traders.

Artificial worlds have figured in science fiction for decades. Briefly mentioned in J. D. Bernal's *THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND THE DEVIL* (1929) and Olaf Stapledon's *THE STAR MAKER* (1937), they loom larger in such "space ark" stories as Robert A. Heinlein's "Universe" (1939), Clifford D. Simak's "Target Generation" (1950), Brian Aldiss' *STARSHIP* (1958), Harry Harrison's *CAPTIVE UNIVERSE* (1969)—and the current *STARLOST* television series.

Fritz Leiber's *THE WANDERER* (1964) dramatizes an encounter between the Earth and an artificial world as large as a real planet—large enough to cause widespread destruction by tides and earthquakes on our planet, but manned by fugitives from a cosmic tyranny who eventually win the readers' sympathies.

But Larry Niven's *RINGWORLD* (1970), may be the ultimate in artificial world novels. Niven's world isn't a planet at all, but a huge hoop assembled around a star with an inhabited inner surface (the air is kept in by mountains along each edge of the inner strip). The fact that the "ground" curves *up* in two directions is the least strange thing about this seemingly unbelievable (but entirely possible) world in which a party of human and non-human explorers find themselves.

Even where the created world does not hold center stage, with its natural or cultural environment creating the major theme, it is a necessary element in modern science fiction—which has to take the possibilities of the entire universe into account. Creating worlds takes a wealth of imagination and hard work, of course—but that's what makes it so much fun, for the writer as well as the reader. ◻

MASKS

His 'ennui' is exquisite: the sloping
of an eyelid, the gentle smiling
(of contempt?), and eyes—more cold than
curious—upon the conversation.
He is, of course, perfection:
Like words from Pater;
a marble rose;
the lover you will never know.

Wendy McElroy

foreign correspondent

THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY IS ALIVE AND WELL AND JUST MET IN GUATEMALA

GUATEMALA CITY The Mont Pelerin Society is an association of believers in freedom and capitalism who got together in Switzerland after World War II to halt, through educational means, the advance of Socialism. The Society has held very few regional meetings, as most are completely international in character. This most recent meeting was called an "Ibero-American Regional Meeting", signifying that it would be held for members from the Iberian Peninsula and from America but many non-Spaniard Europeans participated—and even a South African.

The setting was Guatemala, the northernmost country of Central America and since it bears on the ultimate consequences of this reunion, a short geographical and political description is in order. The country is small, about the size of New York State, having coasts on both oceans, Mexico on its northern border and El Salvador and Honduras as its southern neighbors. It has about five million inhabitants who speak mainly Spanish and more than half of its population is Indian and illiterate. Guatemala has had a very erratic political history, going through many dictatorships, *coup d'etats* and constitutions. Furthermore, in 1950, a Communist president came to power and Guatemala can pride itself on being the first country in history (Chile, recently, being the second) that has been able to overthrow a Communist president (1954). This Central American nation is now nearing the expiration of its second democratic presidency and it looks—in a very broad optimistic way—as if it is on the road to becoming a stable democracy, even though Communist guerilla warfare has not been totally eliminated.

It was in this strife-afflicted country that the Regional Meeting was held in September of 1973 to discuss, broadly, freedom. At this meeting, twelve papers were presented in three days. It was an unusually heavy load, suggested by the current President of the Society, **Dr. Arthur Shenfield,** who, unfortunately, was not able to attend this meeting for reasons of health.

As has been recently the case, the most popular subject for papers was the monetary situation. Three papers dealt with it. The first one, by **Professor Kremmerer,** was on the "Early History of the Quetzal" (the Guatemalan unit of currency). The noted **Henry Hazlitt** spoke about the "Future of the Dollar", and forecast a bleak future for it, and **Professor Arthur Kemp** of Claremont College delved into the subject much more technically when he expounded on "Gold, International Monetary Crises and the Principles of a Free Society".

Dr. George Roche, President of Rochester University and an internationally known figure in the world of academics and freedom, gave an extremely interesting and current talk on "Affirmative Action", that euphemism by which the U.S. Government blatantly favors minorities at a sacrifice of meritorious individuals. We have very little of this in Central America and I hope it is not contagious! Another current topic was brought up by **Professor Pascual** from Spain: that of ecology. The paper was interesting but did not show thorough researching despite much having been written on this controversial subject.

A very intellectually rewarding, albeit pessimistic, paper was the one presented by **Dr. Henry Manne** of Rochester University. The theme was "Capitalism: The Impossible Dream". However melodramatic the title may appear, the content of the work shows research, insight and very solid economic arguments. He reached his conclusion (". . . the free system . . . is ultimately unattainable") on purely economic grounds, however, without relying on the ethical foundations of capitalism.

Even if the Mont Pelerin Society is a collection of defenders of freedom in different degrees, surely one cannot conceive of a Liberal (I shall be using it in the Classical sense) being in favor of progressive taxation (not to mention *any* taxation!). Yet, **Professor Gilbert Tixier** of the University of Paris, and a member of the Society, read the following paper: "Taxation in Developing Countries and Economic Growth", and I quote from it: "As we already emphasized it, direct taxations must not be too progressive and the rates should be moderate. Being in favor of economic liberalism . . .". And, furthermore, "The Government should help the private companies through tax concessions. Aid of this kind may take a variety of forms: . . . protection tariffs . . ." (sic). This was the most significant discrepancy from the nature of the convention. That Professor Tixier's book (from which this piece was taken) should have a foreward by Dr. Arthur Shenfield, President of the Society, is even more surprising.

There were other controversial points brought up by other speakers but aside from the one just mentioned, which is an extreme case, all can be said to be Classical Liberals. Among those nonspeakers who attended the meeting, the degrees of commitment to laissez-faire also varied. For instance, at a delicious dinner offered by two Guatemalan hosts, **Mr. and Mrs. Leonel Samayoa,** I met a Mont Pelerin Society member who favored Government protectionism in the U.S. so that "foreign producers won't outsell American producers". However, I consider his case another exception, and the disturbing experience of hearing those views in a meeting of Liberals was more than offset by the pleasure of speaking with the many libertarian members of the Society. Thank goodness for some rationality at last!

Other notable participants—but not speakers—were **Dr. Armen Alchian,** from the Department of Economics at UCLA, **Professor Hutt** of South Africa (whose books in the twenties were already contradicting Keynes and predicting inflation), **Augustin Navarro** and **Gustavo Velasco** of Mexico, **Professor Sam Peltzman** of UCLA's and Chicago's Departments of Economics, **the Reigs** from Spain, **Alan Reynolds** (*NATIONAL REVIEW* and *REASON* magazine), **the Zuloagas** from Venezuela and **Professor Roger Miller** from the University of Washington (who impressed everyone with his "natural" hair style and fluent Spanish).

All this brings me back to the effects of these meetings. A member (I believe it was Milton Friedman) once said that he did not see much justification in preserving the Society as it had no major role anymore. I disagree. The motives which drive people (and not only members) to attend are several. Some place emphasis on the snob appeal of the "International Convention Status". Most seek the educational value, which is very laudable; but, by far, the main reason for the meeting is to find intellectual companionship, to reinforce our personal security as members of a minority and to remind ourselves that "Yes, there are others out there who think as I do." This reason had a very beneficial effect on Central America's Liberals (those that are not Liberals

are not convinced by meetings like these) in that the solidarity shown gives added impetus—spiritually and financially—to the institutions that promote freedom in this country: **CEES (Center for Socio-Economic Studies)** and **Francisco Marroquin University** (more about these institutions in later reports. And in a country where freedom has been—and is in high risk of being—*the* forsaken alternative, this support is appreciated to a greater degree than, say, in the United States.

On the whole, the meeting was a complete success. The academic part was well planned and carried out by hosts **Dr. Manuel Ayau** and **Ulysses Dent** and "extracurricular" activities abounded, from a trip to the Mayan ruins of Tikal to a visit to the central market place, all due to the efficient and very meritorious efforts of Manual ("Muso") Ayau's charming and capable wife, **Olga.** I hope to see all of you in Brussels for next year's meeting.

Fernando Linares

movies

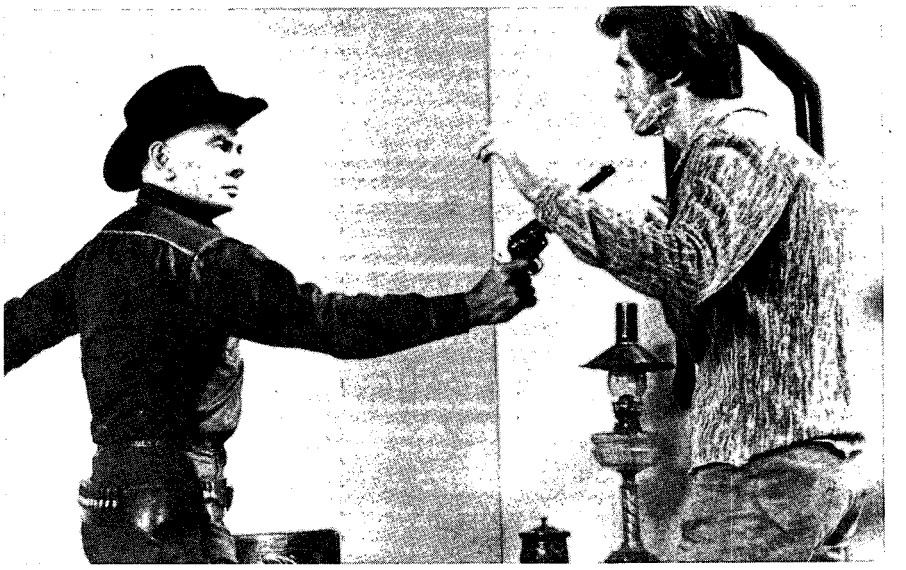
REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• Can a compulsive political activist (native Communist variety) find happiness with a conventional, compromising writer? Maybe not, but the offbeat combination, aided by a heavy dose of 1940's nostalgia, makes **THE WAY WE WERE** an engaging and superior film. Barbra Streisand and Robert Redford both play the types of characters they do best: she is high-strung, argumentative, compulsive and practically humorless, while he is talented, easygoing and indifferent to principles. Their characterizations receive a big assist from the script, and from the film's faithful recreation of America as it was a generation ago. Topical political issues of the time, from the Roosevelt mystique to the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in Hollywood, serve as a backdrop to the lives of the mismatched lovers. Although not the main focus of the movie, some of the political manifestations (such as the censorship issue) are directly relevant to our own time. Despite its overall good quality, *THE WAY WE WERE* does have a few problems. Most of the supporting performances (and their accompanying dialogue) seem awkward and contrived, and the movie's last half hour contains unmistakable overtones of soap opera. Streisand and Redford fans probably won't even notice these flaws; and for the rest of us, *THE WAY WE WERE* is still very much a movie worth seeing. Rated "PG."

• **WESTWORLD** is one of those rare movies that qualify as pure entertainment. The plot, devised by Michael Crichton *(THE ANDROMEDA STRAIN)* and set in the not-too-distant future, centers around a vacation resort where people come to live out their fantasies, assisted by totally lifelike robots equipped to do everything from dueling to making love. The entire system is run by computer, and elaborate precautions are taken to make sure the guests do not get hurt. The advertisements proudly state, "Nothing can possibly go wrong." Well, sure enough, things begin going haywire about the time our heroes, Richard Benjamin and James Brolin, arrive in Westworld, a faithful re-creation of a Western town in the 1800's. First Brolin gets bitten by a computerized snake; then a robot gunslinger (played to perfection by Yul Brynner) begins acting strangely. Before you know it, all hell has broken loose. Crichton's writing and direction keep the film moving at a fast pace, constantly increasing the suspense and terror. Technical credits are flawless; the film is horribly believable. Of course, it's only a fantasy, and the creation of humanoid robots is still years away. But if they continue making dolls more lifelike, who knows? Rated "PG."

• Because it is such a blatant propaganda film, **EXECUTIVE ACTION** does at least as much damage to its own theories as it does to the conventional wisdom regarding the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The movie is an attempt to dramatize what the authors (Dalton Trumbo, Donald Freed and Mark Lane) think might have been a conspiracy to kill the President. Documentary film is interwoven with conventional acting, much to the detriment of the latter. Burt Lancaster and Robert Ryan head up a group of Texas oil millionaires (natch!) who are opposed to Kennedy's policies because they see them as a threat to their own power. They decide to assassinate him and set up Lee Harvey Oswald as a patsy. As the plotters make their preparations, their dialogue seems to consist mainly of a recitation of facts regarding the conspiracy; one can almost see Mort Sahl lecturing at his blackboard. Many of these facts do seem to indicate that Oswald may not have acted alone. But presenting the facts is one thing, and integrating them into a viable theory is another. And this is where *EXECUTIVE ACTION* founders, substituting rampant paranoia for reasoned judgment. No attempt is made at characterization, to make understandable in human terms why such men would feel impelled to murder the President. The plotters are presented as caricatures of callous power-brokers, every left-winger's nightmare of the greedy capitalist pigs who run the country. These emotionless oil barons

Yul Brynner gets the drop on James Brolin in Westworld.



deal in human life and death as an everyday matter, discussing casually among themselves the most efficient means of depopulating the non-white world. They have intimate contacts in various U.S. intelligence agencies, which number several hundred, each unaware of what the others are doing. Oswald is a double agent, or even triple or quadruple. After 91 minutes of this barrage, one gets the impression that conspiracy theory is not merely the authors' view of the Kennedy assassination; it is their view of life. Rated "PG."

• **ROBIN HOOD** is the latest all-cartoon feature from Disney, and somehow it doesn't measure up to most of that studio's previous efforts. In this version, the characters are all animals, with Robin Hood played by a fox and Prince John by a cowardly lion. The villains are incompetent buffoons and not particularly menacing; suspense is lacking. Filling in the gaps in the skimpy plot are pratfalls and clowning on the order of a Yogi Bear television cartoon. The limited animation employed here is a far cry from the exquisite detail of some of the earlier Disney cartoon features. The portrayal of the villains as tax collectors results in some fairly sophisticated political humor that should delight libertarian children. All in all, *ROBIN HOOD* is a pleasant diversion, but it lacks bite. Rated "G."

book review

Reviewed by PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

THE NEW TOTALITARIANS. By Roland Huntford. New York: Stein and Day, 1972, 354 pp., $10.00.

This is a book about Sweden by the *LONDON OBSERVER's* Scandinavian correspondent. His thesis is that "modern Sweden has fulfilled Huxley's specifications for the new totalitarianism." He lets Sweden's rulers speak for themselves, and they make a good case for the thesis. At the least Sweden is a corporate state with features that Mussolini could not impose on Italy. Huntford reports that "the social ideology of the German Nazis and the Swedish Social Democrats had much in common," which may account for the resemblance that the Swedish economic system has to that of Nazi Germany. He also reports that Gunnar Myrdal was once a Nazi sympathizer because of Hitler's advanced ideas on social welfare.

Huntford argues that in its rule of 40 years, the Social Democratic Party (socialist) has enveloped the state and rules administratively through the bureaucracy. Even if voted out of office, the socialists would probably rule *de facto* because of their grip on the bureaucracy and "popular organizations" (which have official functions) and their domination of the intellectual climate. The Swedish Diet is a nonentity and always has been except for the period 1718-1772. Gustaf III, a late-eighteenth-century king who toyed with the idea of a return to parliamentary rule, was assassinated by the bureaucracy who felt their prerogatives threatened.

There is nominally a private economy, but business firms have government directors on their boards, and taxation is designed to make business expansion dependent on state loans, the granting of which is conditional on cooperating with the state. Urban renewal and economic means are used to destroy privately organized cultural activities (and the Catholic church). The director of the state theatre, who wants no competition to his (uniformly leftist) repertoire, acknowledges that "the whole question has been settled for us by the town planners." Schoolchildren are taught to be suspicious of the private businessman, but not of the state bureaucrat.

According to Huntford, in Swedish the word "welfare" not only means benefits but supervision of behavior and conditioning of the citizen. From culture to the bedroom, the Swedish state leaves nothing untouched. There is a computer registration of all persons. If the local temperance board decides that a citizen drinks excessively, off he goes for compulsory treatment in a state institution by administrative order without due process of law. An administrative order is sufficient to take children away from parents. Consequently, parents are encouraged to conform to the state's ideas on child-raising.

In Sweden a person's security derives from social welfare, not from a rule of law. According to Carl Lidbom, judge, cabinet minister and Social Democratic theoretician, "The purpose of the law is to realize official policy. It is one of the instruments for changing society." According to the deputy Ombudsman, "The law in Sweden is an instrument of the civil service, codifying its decisions." According to a legal official, "The law is not there to protect the individual . . . it has got nothing to do with guaranteeing one's freedom."

Indeed, in Sweden the individual and his initiative are in disrepute, and it is state educational policy to eliminate both, because all autonomy conflicts with the scheme of social reconstruction. For the same reason European Common Market membership was rejected. The state saw the free movement of labor and capital as inconsistent with social planning—planning that is so comprehensive that, according to the head of the Directorate of National Planning, "people will have to give up the right to choose their own neighbors."

Official spokesmen are not worried by the decline in creativity, because they see Sweden in the role of a free rider, benefitting from scientific and technical discoveries made elsewhere. The official policy against individuality makes it difficult to oppose public expenditure (total taxes are 40.6% of GNP) because the words for "individual" have derogatory connotations, whereas the words for "collective" and "state" are positively loaded.

Education is viewed as a propaganda device, and there is no academic freedom. "Committed scholar" means in Sweden, as in the U.S., one who is committed to advancing leftist ideology. According to the deputy Minister of Education, "Education is one of the most important agents for controlling society. It has been integrated into our scheme for changing society, and its purpose is to turn out the correct kind of person for the new society."

He also says that "academic independence is incompatible with a modern educational system. The aims of the universities are set by society and, since society produces the economic support, it has the right and duty to direct their activities." Socialists, of course, make this argument only when they have control of the state. Until that time, academic freedom is a convenient guise under which leftist propagandists can break down the socialization process

that imparts the values of the existing society.

Radio, TV, and culture are under the Minister of Education, and writers and artists are dependent on the state. The private newspapers do not oppose the state's propagandistic use of education and the media. The editor of the largest newspaper says: "News must be used to change society and influence people. If it is objective, and designed only to inform, then it is conservative."

Since it is the socialists' aim to push the country further to the left, leftist dissent is encouraged. In effect, the Swedish "new left" is a dupe of the state which encourages leftists to discover social imperfections because each discovery justifies an increase in the state power to correct the imperfection.

The state's institutional machinery for enforcing a leftist opinion on the country is complete, but the prevalence of leftist opinion does not seem to be dependent on the state's enforcement mechanisms. This should not surprise us. A similar uniformity of liberal-left opinion in American universities, communications, and culture is not a product of state policy. This suggests that liberty is a function of the content of ideas and that emphasis on institutions can be misleading.

If people do not believe in liberty, then democratic institutions will not uphold liberty. This is the problem in Sweden. The liberals who are technically in opposition to the socialists *share* their values. Says the editor of a liberal newspaper: "Given the choice between welfare and liberty, I would choose welfare every time."

This might explain the disquieting fact that in Sweden empirical evidence carries no weight in the battle between the welfare state and the free society. According to Huntford, the elimination of poverty and slums and the implementation of all the "advanced" ideas have been accompanied by a 250% increase in crime, the highest juvenile delinquency rate in Western Europe, and a suicide rate twice that of the United States. By the time experience refutes one social welfare theory, it is already associated with the old order and more radical theories supplant it.

Huntford thinks that Swedish totalitarianism results from a traditional submissiveness to authority and the absence of liberal ideas. But the social reconstruction and perfection of society are precisely liberal ideas. In implementing their programs Swedish ideologues have experienced excitement and personal fulfillment, but the social costs of these private satisfactions are the destruction of liberty and a bored society. ◻

viewpoint

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

PRIVACY, OR THE "RIGHT TO KNOW"?

Dr. Rothbard's viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Tibor Machan and David Brudnoy.

We are being deluged with confusing and competing claims of alleged "rights", and as usual if we don't have clear-cut standards to decide between the claims, we are hopelessly at sea without a rudder. In particular, there is a host of competing claims about "the right to privacy" vs. the "right to know." For example, there is government wiretapping of private individuals; do they have the right of privacy or does the government, presumably as surrogate for the public, have the right to know? And if, as civil libertarians, we decide for privacy, then, counter the conservatives, what about Presidential documents or the Pentagon papers? Don't the President and his aides have the "right of confidentiality" overriding the public's right to know? And what of newsmen? Should they have the right to protect their sources, or may they be forced to spill the beans to appropriate arms of government? In the brief but intense flurry on behalf of the secretly plea-bargaining Mr. Agnew, another newsman question was raised: the alleged sanctity of grand jury proceedings and the search for "leaks" vs. the right of a free press. And come to think of it, weren't the infamous "plumbers" simply "plugging leaks"? Privacy; freedom of the press; the right to know; where in the world do rights lie?

Libertarians are particularly well equipped to resolve questions of "rights"; for what we say is keep your eye on the rights of private property. The rights of private property must be kept sancrosanct. Given this, we can say quite flatly that no one has "the right to know" anyone else's private business; I *might like* to know what goes on behind my neighbor's closed doors, but neither I nor anyone else has the right to invade his domain by coercion to try to find out, whether it is myself as an individual, the press, the public, or the government. *Ergo:* all bugging, burglary, wiretapping, and opening of the mail are criminal invasions of private property and should be outlawed. So much for the governmental buggers. What about newsmen? The crucial point about newsmen and the press is that they are private citizens, and therefore their activities (if themselves not invasive) must not be interfered with, by any person or by any arm of government. The newsman should have the right to remain silent about his sources, and so also should a lawyer, a physician, an accountant, a psychiatrist, *or anybody else.* Even if I am merely an economist or just a private citizen, I should be able to keep silent about private communications from my friends or acquaintances. In short: extend the "privilege" and "shield" laws to everyone!

Private citizens, therefore, should have the right to be inviolate in their persons, their homes, and their properties. But doesn't the public have *any* "right to know?" Yes, they do, in *one* area only: the area of government and government officials. For government officials are *not* private citizens. They live off coerced tax money, and they have enormous powers of coercion over people at home and abroad. Government is inherently a massive agency for invasion of private property, and therefore *government officials* have not rights but duties, particularly duties to the long-suffering taxpayers to tell them what is going on. In short, the public has a right to know *everything* about the affairs of government; for government officials, from the President and the Pentagon on down, there should be no right to privacy or

Nuclear War, Can It Happen?

Back in the fifties, great numbers of Americans were concerned about the possibility of nuclear war. Many people built fallout shelters and stockpiled food. Today, things are different. If there is one thing just about everybody is agreed on, it is the impossibility of nuclear war. "The Russians," it is said, "Would have nothing to gain from destroying the U.S."

Unfortunately, such logic seems to have escaped the Soviet rulers. The Soviet Union is presently pursuing the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. And the configuration of Soviet forces is such that a first strike is implied. In case after case, weapons systems and deployment policies which seem quite senseless if we do *not* postulate a planned first strike are seen to be instantly understandable if we do make such a postulate. The Soviet SS-9 missile, for example, delivers a payload which is many times larger than would be needed to destroy even the world's largest city. Its only conceivable purpose is to destroy hardened. U.S. missile silos.

Stop and think about that. *Its purpose is to destroy hardened U.S. missile silos*. There is no need to destroy our missile silos if they are empty, right? And if they are *not* empty, doesn't that imply that the Soviets are attacking first?

Not proof, you say? You are right. It isn't proof. It is merely one small piece of evidence. But as you look at more and more pieces of this particular jigsaw puzzle, it is very easy to get disturbed. When you put them all together, the theory that makes them fit is grim indeed. The theory: that the Soviet rulers are engaged in systematic preparations to launch a nuclear surprise attack against the United States.

Further, it looks as if attempts to avert such an outcome by persuading our "representatives" in Washington to take action, are doomed to failure. If so, then our only hope lies in the actions which we take *as individuals*, to prepare for what is coming.

I believe that the indicated plan of action is as follows:

(1) If you are living in a major target area, move. (2) Prepare a retreat in an area far removed from target areas, fallout areas, and areas likely to attract refugees. (3) Locate your retreat in an area where you can expect to have libertarians for neighbors. If the U.S. ceases to exist, the only protection you will have will be your neighbors. If they are not libertarians, the government which they will set up will respect neither your right to life nor to property.

Such, in the form of a brief sketch, is the situation as I see it. Accordingly, I have purchased land in a location suitable to the establishment of retreats by libertarians. It goes without saying that such retreats would serve equally well in case of hyperinflation and economic collapse in this country. If you are interested in a more detailed presentation of this reasoning, so you can decide for yourself whether it has merit, use the form below to send for the RETREAT INFORMATION PACKAGE.

Please send ..... RETREAT INFORMATION PACKAGE(S) at $2 each, to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip.....

Make check or money order payable to: Mitchell Jones, P.O. Box 12963, Austin, Texas 78711

confidentiality whatever. And so: no bugging and no compulsory testimony for private citizens; but strip our rulers bare. Subpoena or leak their papers, their tapes, their private conspiracy sessions, and so on. Subpoena and impeach! Let it be known henceforth that while private persons are inviolable, our governmental rulers are fair game.

But, you might be saying, this will terribly discourage *anyone* from assuming government office? Precisely! ◻

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trends

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.

TAXPAYERS VS. THE IRS

1973 brought the struggle between citizens, trying to protect their hard-earned money, and the IRS, bent on taking much of it away, to new heights of intensity. With the full revelation of White House use of the IRS for harassing Administration "enemies" with special audits, for cracking down hard on "extremist" groups, favoring the President's 1972 campaign supporters, and placing political contact men within top echelon IRS ranks, millions of Americans received an unexpected consciousness-raising about the true nature of a system based on forced taxation.

The response of American taxpayers was overwhelming. The number of people filing no income tax returns, as well as the number filing incorrect returns, soared to record levels. The IRS officially estimates that 5 million potential taxpayers are now failing to file, saving themselves (or "costing the government") some $6 billion per year. According to *U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT,* "tax experts outside the IRS say the agency actually is understating the problem . . . some put the real losses as high as five times that much, around $30 billion per year." Former IRS Commissioner Johnie M. Walters has been widely quoted as saying that the trend in nonfilings is "frightening." The IRS fears that the way things are going, Americans may soon regard taxes in much the same manner as do many Europeans and most Latin Americans: as something to be avoided whenever, and however, possible. Particularly disturbing to the IRS is the high incidence of nonfiling among "lawyers, doctors, accountants, and other professionals."

One reason for the increase in tax avoidance and incorrect filings is that it is easier to get away with it, as compared with prior years. The IRS's auditing staff has fallen, in absolute terms, to below the level of ten years ago, while the number of returns has soared. Further, some 3,000 agents have been diverted to enforcement of price controls, and others have been assigned to such new program areas as revenue sharing and narcotics investigations. One result of these changes is that the chances of any return being audited are now only one in 55, compared with one in 18 ten years ago. A total of 1.8 million returns were audited last year, of which 1.3 million contained "errors." However, the vast majority of those taxpayers just paid the additional tax plus interest penalties; only 1,342 were prosecuted for tax evasion, and of these 68 were acquitted, 123 were convicted, 330 pleaded no contest, and 821 pleaded guilty. Only 334 of the guilty were imprisoned, with most of the others receiving some combination of fines and probation.

To help even the odds, the IRS is beefing up its computer systems and attempting to add more audit personnel. By 1977 the computer will provide "100% matching information documents," i.e., all information containing a given Social Security number (W-2 forms, Social Security records, etc.) will automatically be cross-checked. The IRS's Discriminant Function (DIF) computer program for spotting auditable returns continues to improve the quality of audits; in 1969 only 59% of the returns audited disclosed additional taxes due, but by 1972 the percentage had been increased to 68%.

While the odds keep changing, taxpayer organizations have begun gearing up for a new round of battles. Washington-based Tax Analysts and Advocates has filed suit under the Freedom of Information Act to require the IRS to publish some 30,000 letter rulings that it renders each year in answer to private inquiries, so that all taxpayers will have access to them (rather than only those with high-priced Washington lawyers). And in San Diego, the Association of Concerned Taxpayers has filed a class-action suit demanding that the 1974 tax return forms include warnings against possible self-incrimination. Since the tax forms can be used against the taxpayer in criminal proceedings, Mrs. Barbara Hutchinson points out, a taxpayer should be accorded the same rights as any other person under the Fifth Amendment.

As the bicentennial of the Boston Tea Party approaches, Americans seem to be gearing up appropriate forms of commemoration.

SOURCES:
- "IRS Chief Is Alarmed at Tax Evader Increase," UPI (Washington), 27 March 1973.
- "Auditing the IRS," *BUSINESS WEEK,* 1 September 1973, p. 64.
- "Incorrect Tax Returns at New High, IRS Says," AP (Washington), 5 September 1973.
- "Hidden Taxpayer Strike," *U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT,* 17 September 1973.
- "Incrimination Advice on Tax Forms Sought," *LOS ANGELES TIMES,* 7 October 1973.
- "1,342 Charged With Tax Evasion in Fiscal '73," AP (Washington), 21 October 1973.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FREEDOM

A large-scale survey of the attitudes of college faculty and students toward freedom and free enterprise has found that some 80% believe that "the government has no right to interfere with a person's actions (moral or immoral) so long as these actions do not endanger the life, liberty, or property of others." This apparent strongly libertarian viewpoint was not borne out by the remainder of the survey, however. In fact, concludes World Research, Inc., the best way to describe the overall results is that "confusion reigns among college students, as well as their professors, when it comes to beliefs about government and freedom."

Carrying the conclusion further, Karl Keating, student spokesman for the Campus Studies Institute Division of WRI said, "Apparently there is a strong belief among students and professors that the government should not interfere in their own personal lives, but they do not object to government interference in other people's personal lives."

Despite the 80% support for government nonintervention, the survey found that:

> 52% believe it is the proper function of government to legislate that which is for the individual's own good;
>
> 69% believe that today's most important social problems are most likely to be solved by government intervention;

67% believe the government should intervene to correct economic inequities.

These, and other of the survey's statistics, lead World Research to surmise that the majority of college students and their professors hold philosophically contradictory beliefs about government and that they have a substantial lack of understanding of the basic principles of freedom.

In an effort to establish the extent of anti-free enterprise attitudes on campus, a scale based on 100% was established to evaluate the understanding and acceptance of basic free market concepts. Those respondents whose answers were consistently pro-free enterprise received 100%. Among those surveyed, chairmen of economics departments scored the highest with 30% being pro-free enterprise. Among the lowest scores were the chairmen of political science and sociology departments with 18% and 16% being pro-free enterprise, respectively.

In comparison, in an independent survey also conducted by WRI, a selected sample of the general public scored 60% pro-free enterprise.

What may be a partial answer to these disturbing figures was announced last summer at Town Hall of California, a civic forum. Jack Hilton, an executive of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, announced the formation of Free Enterprise Communications Inc. (FEC). The purpose of the organization will be to explain and defend the free enterprise system, and to act as a clearinghouse for free enterprise information. Hilton wants FEC to take the initiative, rather than merely reacting to critics, and to carry the case to labor, education, government, and the media, in addition to business itself. FEC will be funded by contributions from large businesses, and will have a full-time staff and executive management. The staff will include communications experts from all media and professional communications fields, including advertising.

SOURCES:

- "1973 Student-Faculty Opinion Poll: Nationwide Surveys on Student and Faculty Opinions of Free Market Philosophy," *WORLD RESEARCH, INC.* (11722 Sorrento Valley Road, San Diego, CA 92121), October 1973.
- "JWT's Dialog Readies Unit for Free Enterprise Info," *ADVERTISING AGE*, 16 July, 1973.

CUTTING BACK THE FEDERAL BEHEMOTH

Those in favor of a constantly expanding role for the federal government will be disheartened by the results of a recent study by the American Enterprise Institute. The AEI study of the federal budget reveals that, despite the huge increase in ongoing federal programs over the past decade, the budget program prepared for FY 1974 would produce a balanced budget in 1975 and growing budget surpluses through the rest of the decade. Thus, large-scale tax reductions could take place during 1975-1980, even without reducing any of the current mass of federal programs.

Entitled "Public Claims on U.S. Output," the study used AEI's computerized model of budgeting and resource allocation to project federal revenues and expenditures through the remainder of the decade, assuming no changes in the current tax structure and the continued operation of all federal programs in accordance with the provisions of the FY 1974 budget. Under these assumptions,, there would be a $9 billion federal budget surplus in 1976, $17 billion surplus in 1977, $33 billion in 1978, $45 billion in 1979, and $57 billion in 1980. In addition, the study found a similar situation to exist at the state and local level. State and local governments are projected to run a net surplus on the order of $20 billion in 1976 and $26 billion in 1980.

These results should be kept in mind when politicians propose tax increases during the 70s. Quite the opposite should be forthcoming; indeed, given the dismal record of most governmental programs, there should be major tax cuts not only to refund the projected surplus, but also to discontinue vast numbers of these wasteful programs.

SOURCE:

- "Public Claims on U.S. Output," David J. Ott, *et. al.*, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, DC, September 1973.

THE SCHOOL AS PANACEA

Eight years ago sociologist James Coleman published a report entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Comparing schools which were integrated with those which were segregated by race, the Coleman report found small but significant differences in the academic performance of the black students, with those in the integrated schools doing better. These results, seized upon by well-meaning ideologues, have since been used as the basis for large-scale busing programs in order to achieve "racial balance." The assumption seems to have been that if blacks do better in schools which are naturally integrated, then other blacks transferred into previously segregated (or merely "unbalanced") schools would also do better.

Unfortunately, it hasn't worked out that way at all. So concludes sociologist David Armor of the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, after studying busing data from Boston, White Plains, New Haven, Hartford, Ann Arbor, and Riverside. Armor's study, along with several others, found no academic improvements among black students as a result of busing programs. About the only measurable result (though the data are not conclusive) has been an increase in racial tensions in the "bused" schools.

The most important conclusion of Armor's study is not about busing, per se. Rather, it is about the usefulness of education as a tool for solving complex social problems. Armor sees the busing/desegregation problem as just one instance of a modern tendency to assume that schooling is a panacea for counteracting the effects of being brought up in poverty and lower-class surroundings. His findings add to the growing doubt about the schools' ability to do so.

Another critic of the school-as-total-solution dogma is none other than James Coleman himself. Now chairman of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Coleman has concluded that America forces children to spend far too long in school. According to Coleman, schools provide an important, but very limited range of skills. Such adult needs as self-responsibility, management of one's own affairs, working well with others, and of course marketable skills, are not taught in schools. Yet today's children are forced to spend increasingly greater portions of their lives in the classroom, becoming "saturated with information but starved for experience."

The solution? Joining critics John Holt and Ivan Illich, Coleman argues that people aged 14 to 24 be offered a variety of work and learning opportunities, including the chance to work side-by-side with adults in all-ages "working communities." Such an approach would, of course, require the elimination of much of our current apparatus of child coercion—compulsory schooling laws and minimum wage laws—and would thereby incur the wrath of organized labor. Despite such difficulties, however, Coleman's proposals are more than welcome. Like Armor's empirical findings, they are part of a growing shift away from the conventional American view of education as a means of secular salvation.

SOURCES:

- "Busing Hasn't Led to Black Gains in Classroom," David J. Smollar, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 5 September 1973.
- "Less School, More Work . . .," *TIME*, 27 August 1973, p. 54. ◻

frontlines

□ LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF CANADA FOUNDED

Frontlines correspondent **Marshall Bruce Evoy** reports:

The Founding Convention of **The Libertarian Party of Canada,** attended by 64 delegates from 4 provinces, together with 16 observers from both the U.S. and Canada, took place in Toronto, October 25-28. The U.S. Founding Convention consisted of approximately 100 delegates, the Canadian 80—not bad for a country with only one tenth the population of the United States! On September 15, 1973, the **Libertarian Alternative (Province of Alberta)** "went public" in Edmonton with approximately 70 persons in attendance.

With both Denver and Edmonton as models, the format of the Federal Convention differed slightly from that of the U.S. On the first day, delegates divided into committees, revising and amending the preconvention ad hoc committee's Constitution, By-Laws, Platform, and Statement of Principles. On the second day, the whole convention, after discussion and debate, voted on the suggested amendments. Finally, on Sunday morning, October 28th, the convention formally adopted the Statement of Principles authored by **Brian Rogers** of Montreal.

From left: LPC members Dave Mitchell, Ian Young, and Brian Rogers

The LP Platform calls for a new Canadian Constitution to replace the British North America Act, proposes selling the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Post Office to the private sector, and separates (unlike the U.S. Platform) the "Trade and Economy" section into "Immediate" and "Ultimate" goals. As no consensus could be reached on either the age-of-majority or capital punishment, these were omitted from the Platform, along with abortion. Moreover, the Section on Secession was shortened; and no Foreign Diplomatic Section was included.

The acceptance of a Statement of Principles was followed by an election of officers, including Leader and Deputy Leader (the Canadian equivalent of the U.S. Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates). **Sieg Pedde** of London, Ontario, was elected Leader; **Terry Coughlin** of Whitby, Ontario, Deputy Leader; and **Steve Jarvis** of Toronto, Chairman. Also present at the convention were **Dick Reimer** and **Brent Bissell,** President and Director respectively of the Libertarian Alternative of Alberta. [**Marshall Bruce Evoy,** the chairman pro tem, received a standing ovation as Founder of the Canadian Party.]

From left: Sieg Pedde, Leader of the LPC; Terry Coughlin, Deputy Leader

The presence of New Jersey L.P. State Chairman **Bob Steiner** and Michigan L.P. State Chairman **Greg Clark,** both of whom addressed the Convention, clearly revealed that the libertarian movement knows no geographical boundaries. The 49th parallel had been abolished; our two countries can now go forward together as one in the cause of liberty.

For further information contact The Libertarian Party of Canada, Box 5333, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1N6 Canada.

□ NEW YORK ELECTION RESULTS

The unofficial vote totals for the New York City elections are in! (The Board of Elections is expected to have the official tally ready by summer . . .) With parts of Brooklyn and Queens still uncounted, **Free Libertarian Party** mayoral candidate **Fran Youngstein** appears to have pulled over 8,000 votes (out of 1.7 million votes cast), and Manhattan District Attorney candidate **Gary Greenberg** also got about 8,000 votes (out of about 220,000 votes cast, or 4%). The Free Libertarian Party outdrew all of the other minor parties (Socialist Worker, Socialist Labor, Communist, and Labor) combined—for perspective, four years ago the only minor party on the ballot, the Communist Party, got only 4,000 votes out of 2.5 million cast.

However, the main point of the campaign was not to get votes; it was to get publicity for libertarian ideas. With help from 450 contributors, the FLP sponsored an all-night radio talk show, did 12 thirty-second TV spots, and did 70 thirty and sixty-second radio spots (ABC and Westinghouse bleeped the "offending" word from their "Do You Trust City Hall? Hell, No!" commercial!). They engaged in three TV debates with minor party candidates and ran several 1/4 page ads in the *VILLAGE VOICE* and other community papers. All of the New York papers gave at least some coverage to the many appearances FLP candidates made.

Congratulations to the FLP for the political/educational effort of the year!

□ NOTES

Libertarian Alternative of San Diego (P.O. Box 15011, San Diego, CA 92115) has begun holding monthly dinner meetings at Bit of Sweden restaurant (2850 El Cajon Blvd.). Meetings are on a Tuesday (call **Sara Baase** at (714) 460-9136 or 286-5231 for the date of the next one) starting at 8 P.M. Featured speakers at recent meetings: **Barbara Hutchinson,** chairman of the Association of Concerned Taxpayers and **Bernard Siegan,** author of *LAND USE WITHOUT ZONING . . .* **Libertarian Alternative of Los Angeles** meets at the Eater's Digest restaurant on Wilshire near Doheny every first Monday at 8:30 P.M. Their main project involves giving editorial replies on local radio and television stations, and other activist ventures are being considered . . . Informal monthly gatherings at **Rampart College** are offering libertarians, and those interested in learning more about the philosophy, a chance to participate (or just listen) in open conversation about personal and social freedom. The sessions are held on the third Tuesday of the month at 8:00 P.M.; Rampart is on the 6th floor of the First Western Bank Bldg. at 104 W. Fourth St., Santa Ana, CA. Call (714) 835-2505 for more information . . . Libertarians wanting to end U.S. involvement in the United Nations (and with an interest in forming ad hoc alliances) might want to check out the John Birch Society's current petition drive called *Get US Out!* Write the Society in Belmont, MA 02178 for information . . . ◻

REASON FACULTY REGISTRY

Over the course of the past twelve months, *REASON* has embarked upon a project of particular interest to those involved in the academic world, as students or faculty. Initially, our plan was to compile a listing of all faculty members at American colleges and universities who adhered to a systematic belief in the importance of personal freedom. Once we embarked upon the project and corresponded with approximately 100 faculty members, advising them of our plan to include them on the Faculty Registry, we received much enthusiastic response, together with responses less than encouraging. Those who supported the idea of the Registry submitted additional names which brought the aggregate listing to well over 200 names. It warmed our hearts to receive such letters concerning the project as that sent by Professor Milton Friedman:

For a variety of reasons others whom we had tentatively selected to be included on the listing desired to opt out. We have respected the wishes of those who have requested exclusion from the list, which, unfortunately, leaves some omissions that hopefully may be included in a subsequent listing. Some of those who opted out considered the proposed listing—in its early version—to be "counterproductive" and to really operate as a disservice to those who would be labelled as "libertarian" faculty members. Others desired to opt out for different reasons. Some were quite vitriolic as shown by the letter we received from Professor Gabriel Kolko (reproduced below).

The initial letter which we had sent to the faculty members on the tentative listing indicated that we assumed they would not object to the listing unless we heard from them to the contrary by a certain date. This very approach, assuming acquiescence in the absence of a specific response, was deemed to be quite nonlibertarian by certain faculty members. Subsequently, *REASON* modified the standards used for inclusion of names on the Registry and decided not to write to each new proposed name.

All in all, the Faculty Registry project turned out to be a much more controversial and time consuming task than was originally contemplated. The concept of the project has evolved somewhat from the original idea of compiling a listing of libertarian faculty members. What is presented below is, rather, **a listing of faculty members of American and foreign colleges and universities, who teach courses likely to be of interest to students who are concerned with the goal of achieving a free society.** Many of those on the Registry are not libertarians by any meaningful definition of the word. Others might perhaps be considered to be libertarians by some, but not by others. In short, **the presence of a name on the Registry emphatically does not connote any adherence to a systematic philosophy of individual rights as such.** Instead, those who are listed have been selected based on our understanding that they teach courses which would be of special interest

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
1126 EAST 59TH STREET
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS 60637

February 26, 1973

Mr. Manuel S. Klausner, Editor
REASON
555 South Flower Street - 26th Floor
Los Angeles, California 90071

Dear Mr. Klausner:

I have no objection whatsoever to your listing my name in the faculty registry that you plan to publish.

I am enclosing the copy that you sent me with some additional names for listing as well as with some corrections of the listings that you had there.

This seems to me an extremely desirable venture and I wish you luck with it.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Friedman

ME:gv
Enclosure

YORK UNIVERSITY
4700 KEELE STREET
DOWNSVIEW 463, TORONTO
ONTARIO

February 27, 1973

Mr. Manuel Klausner
Reason
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Klausner:

Under no circumstances should I be listed in your Registry, or thought to be in any manner a supporter of your exotic political position. If anything proves my thesis that American conservative ideology is more a question of intelligence than politics, it has been the persistent use of my works to buttress your position.

As I made clear often and candidly to many so-called libertarians, I have been a socialist and against capitalism all of my life, my works are attacks on that system, and I have no common area of sympathy with the quaint irrelevancy called "free market" economics. There has never been such a system in historical reality, and if it ever comes into being you can count on me to favor its abolition.

Sincerely,

Gabriel Kolko

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to those interested in the goals and ideals of libertarianism, even if the course might be taught by a socialist.

It is our hope that the Registry will be a useful tool particularly for students who are seeking meaningful educational experiences. We hope that the Registry may grow and expand as more learn of its existence. We are interested in having *REASON* readers submit additional names of faculty members who would be appropriate for inclusion in the Registry. At the same time, should our readers have objections as to the propriety of the inclusion of any of the names listed, we would be interested in receiving word.

Obviously, there are no precise, well-defined parameters as to who should or who should not be included in the listing. It is our general objective that a faculty member's name be listed if he is distinct from his faculty brethren in offering intellectual challenges and substantive course conduct that expand the vision of his students and significantly assist in providing students with a framework of knowledge or values consistent with the goals of a free society.

Manuel S. Klausner

BIOLOGY

Thomas Johnson
Mary Washington College
Fredericksburg VA

BOTANY

Charles Bracker
Purdue University
West Lafayette IN

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Dale R. Hawkins
Weber State College
Ogden, UT

Robert Hessen
Graduate School of Business
Columbia University
New York NY

Jerome W. Milliman
Indiana University
Bloomington IN

W. A. Paton
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor MI

Butler D. Shaffer
University of Nebraska
Omaha NE

Raburn Williams
University of Hawaii
Honolulu HI

ECONOMICS

Burton Abrams
Ohio State University
Columbus OH

Morris Adelman
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge MA

Douglas Adie
Ohio University
Oxford OH

Armen A. Alchian
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles CA

William R. Allen
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles CA

Martin Anderson
Stanford University
Palo Alto CA

Robert G. Anderson
Hillsdale College
Hillsdale MI

Kaj Areskoug
School of Business
New York University
New York NY

D. T. Armentano
University of Hartford
West Hartford, CT

Robert D. Auerbach
University of Illinois
Chicago IL

Robert Ayanian
San Diego State College
San Diego CA

Martin Bailey
University of Rochester
Rochester NY

C. W. Baird
California State University
Hayward CA

Chris Barnekov
Ohio State University
Columbus OH

Yoram Barzel
University of Washington
Seattle WA

Roger Beck
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Gary Becker
University of Chicago
Chicago IL

George J. Benston
University of Rochester
Rochester NY

Richard Bilas
California State College
Bakersfield CA

Walter Block
Baruch College
City University of New York
New York NY

Sidney M. Blumner
California State Polytechnic University
Pomona CA

William Breit
University of Virginia

Yale Brozen
University of Chicago
Graduate School of Business
Chicago IL

Karl Brunner
University of Rochester
Rochester NY

James M. Buchanan
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg VA

Milton N. Buechner
St. John's University
Flushing NY

Robert Bunting
Macalester College
St. Paul MN

Phillip Cagan
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Tell me about
the stone you found
there,
where the world edges 'round the sea.

It is forgotten
that small moment in your hand
it is lost
as water slips from your palm.

You smile
it curves softly to round your lips
teeth
white gleaming in defensive strength.

Rudolph J. Laubscher

WINTER LITANIES

The season whispers its frosty syllables
Winter – an old man with a diamond-blanket of whiskers
Clouds lick the marshmallow hills
Stubborn fir tree, refusing to give up its green
Winter clouds tied up like impossible laundry sacks
The salon of winter, with its platinum wigs on display
Birds clutch the perfection of snow
The nape of a tree's neck, shaggy with a jewelled mane
The snow jots a blank script
Snowflakes nudge the bones of man like
roses on a trellis

David Bissonette

publisher's notes

• **NEW REASON OFFICE:** We are pleased to announce that *REASON* has opened a new business office in the Santa Barbara area. Its telephone number is (805) 964-4310, between 9 AM and 6 PM. Please use this number for all business calls, including subscription problems and all advertising matters.

• **GUATEMALA CORRESPONDENT:** This month's Foreign Correspondent column marks the first appearance of Fernando Linares of Guatemala. Mr. Linares is a lawyer by profession, and is both an assistant professor of law and a member of the Board of Trustees of Francisco Marroquin University. He is also a member of the Board of Advisors of the Center for Socio-Economic Studies (CEES), an organization which advocates a laissez-faire approach to economics. Mr. Linares has had articles published in several Guatemalan magazines and newspapers. Currently he is on leave from his University post to study economics at UCLA.

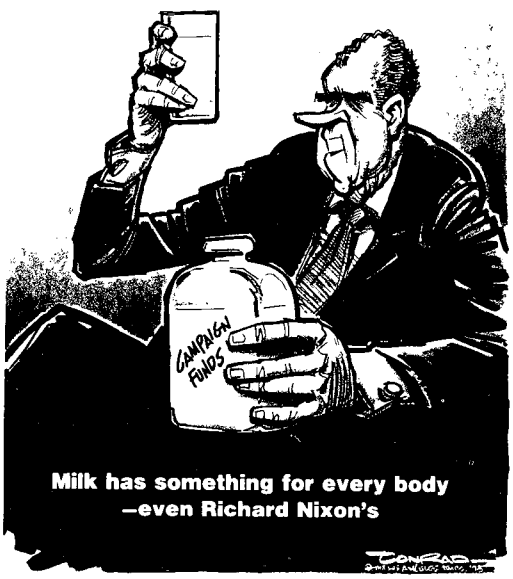
• **NEW MAILING SYSTEM:** As you may have noticed, we have gone to a new computer system for addressing your copies of *REASON*. Although the new system will give us better service, there are certain restrictions in any large-scale computer system. In particular, we must adhere to regular "closing dates" for data sent in to update the mailing list each month. All changes must be input by the 20th of the previous month. Thus, if you send in a billing or renewal payment near the 20th of the month, the next reminder may be mailed to you anyway. If this happens, just disregard the extra reminder; DON'T write us a nasty letter. If you should receive a *second* reminder after you have already paid, then let us know so we can trace down the problem. Another limitation is our inability to begin a subscription with a previous issue. All subscriptions begin with the next mailing after the data are entered into the system. If you wish to receive prior issues, they may be ordered from our Back Issue Department.

• **UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES:** As announced last month, *REASON* will publish a special book issue and a double-size financial issue, both scheduled to appear this coming spring. We invite prospective advertisers to reserve space in these issues now, to take advantage of the current low rates.

• **ENERGY CRISIS ANALYZED:** Two of the basic causes of the current energy crisis are government controls on fuels and environmental restrictions on production facilities. These two issues are analyzed in depth in two *REASON* articles, "The Power Crisis" by Robert Poole, Jr. (February 1971) and "The New Anti-Science Movement" by Ronald E. Merrill (January 1973). Both of these issues are available from our Back Issue Department at $1.00 each. Quantity prices are available for organizations wishing to purchase in bulk.

Instead of currently-discussed statist proposals such as gas rationing, limiting business hours of shopping centers and gas stations and exhorting people to drive in car pools, at speeds limited to fifty miles per hour (an individual's time is a scarce resource, as well as fuel), libertarian alternatives deserve prominence: **Reliance on the price system with deregulation of fuel prices and imports, and deregulation of transportation.** Anyone seriously interested in conserving fuel should be familiar with the case for **jitneys,** as an efficient, low-cost means of public urban transportation. It is typical of government inconsistency that government officials advocate formation of voluntary car pools at the same time that government policies remain in force to fine and imprison those who—without official permission—carry passengers for hire. On the subject of jitneys, see Sandi Rosenbloom's authoritative article, "Taxis and Jitneys: The Case for Deregulation," in *REASON's* February 1972 issue. Only limited copies of the February 1972 issue are available, at a cost of $1.50 each.

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** The February issue of *REASON* will feature an exclusive interview with libertarian-conservative Congressman Steven D. Symms of Idaho. Symms, the first SIL member elected to Congress, has introduced bills to legalize gold ownership, end the postal monopoly, and abolish the Cost of Living Council. In his interview with *REASON,* he discusses his views on the political process and the prospects for libertarian reform. In addition, the February issue will contain Professor Ralph Raico's thoughtful discussion of sex education, plus other worthwhile articles and features.



Editorial cartoon by Paul Conrad. Copyright, 1973, *LOS ANGELES TIMES.* Reprinted with permission.

THE TREE

I am four monkeys.
One hangs from a limb,
Tail-wise,
Chattering at the earth:
Another is cramming his belly with cocoanut:
The third is up in the top branches,
Quizzing the sky:
And the fourth—
He's chasing another monkey.
How many monkeys are you?

Alfred Kreymborg

reason profile

As resident libertarian on the editorial staff of *NATIONAL REVIEW,* Alan Reynolds admits he's in a ticklish position, but he feels that it's easier to convert (or subvert) an existing establishment than to start from scratch. "I think libertarians need to become less concerned with subtle refinements of doctrine, and reassuring exercises in breast-beating, and more concerned with strategy. Specifically, we must take the offensive in gaining access to media and campus forums. We must constantly be on guard against reducing thought processes to a recitation of slogans, and must retain the humility and tolerance necessary to open communication. Anyone who wants to dismantle or decentralize any aspect of government should be welcomed as a provisional ally and potential convert."

Thirty-one year old Reynolds first became exposed to free-market thought in his late teens: as a student at Santa Monica College it was his policy to seek books that contradicted assigned texts and so he finally stumbled upon authors such as Hayek, Eastman and Hazlitt. Later, at U.C.L.A. (where he worked his way through school by living above the California Animal Hospital and singing with a rock band) he was deeply influenced toward a "Chicago School" viewpoint by Sam Peltzman and Karl Brunner. He married his senior year and had two children "to avoid the draft"—his anger at conscription resulted in a brief polemic which was later revised for Society for Individual Liberty's *COMMENTARY ON LIBERTY* in 1970.

From 1965 to 1970 his interest in libertarian ideology lay dormant while he pursued a management career with J.C. Penney Co. in Sacramento and continued his studies at Sacramento State College. His first major article was published in *REASON* [July 1971] and his second, "The Case Against Wage and Price Controls," was a cover feature for *NATIONAL REVIEW*—these led to his being hired as Bill Buckley's assistant and *NATIONAL REVIEW's* associate editor in charge

ALAN REYNOLDS

of economics. He has also written for *THE ALTERNATIVE, THE NEW GUARD,* and *THE NEW YORK TIMES,* and his article attacking McGovern's arithmetic was listed by *TIME* as among the "outstanding journalistic contributions" of the 1972 presidential campaign.

letters

TURING'S THEOREM REVISITED

Anyone who tries to use Adam Reed's intellectual ammunition ("An Obituary for Machines of Loving Grace," October) will find it exploding in his face. Mr. Reed's argument contained a fatal flaw. To put it simply, his human cheated. (Reed's article was *not* a presentation of Turing's famous theorem, which is correct.)

Reed attempted to show that there is no program which can answer a certain question about programs in every case in which a human can answer it. His "proof" is by *reductio ad absurdum.* The existence of such a program (Program A) is assumed. Then A is modified in a very special way to produce Program B. Finally Reed shows that Program A cannot answer the question about Program B, but a human being supposedly can. From this he concludes that Program A cannot exist.

When Program A is called upon to answer a question about Program B, A is given just the number of Program B. (All programs can be and are assigned numbers in the formal proofs in computability theory.) If Reed or any other human were given only B's number and were not told the assumptions made about Program A and how B was constructed from A, the human couldn't answer the question either. Conversely, there exists a program which could prove all that Reed proved, namely that any program, B, satisfying the conditions in Reed's argument cannot produce a definite answer.

Reed runs into more problems when he tries to apply his argument to the issue of determinism. Turing machines are deterministic in the sense explained by Reed—the state and input at any given step uniquely determine the next state. However, one can define a non-deterministic Turing machine by allowing the current state and input to determine a set of possible next states, rather than one specific next state. Hence, at any step, the machine may make any one of several possible moves. We say the Turing machine computes the right answer if there is some sequence of correct choices the machine could make at each step in order to get the answer. It is a theorem in computability theory that non-deterministic Turing machines are no more powerful than deterministic Turing machines. That is, any problem that can be solved by a non-deterministic Turing machine can also be solved by some deterministic one. (This theorem shouldn't surprise anyone who thinks about the definitions for a while.)

I will not draw conclusions about the philosophical issue of determinism from what I have said. Anyone who does so must understand that when the terms above ("deterministic," "non-deterministic," even "compute" and "answer") are used by computability theorists, they are technical terms with mathematically precise definitions. When the philosopher or layman uses the same terms he usually has other (or no) definitions in mind, and great care must be taken when trying to transfer results from one field to another.

Sara Baase
Department of Mathematics
Calif. State University
San Diego, CA

MR. REED REPLIES: Baase's letter contains two objections to my outline of Turing-type proofs. Her first objection assumes incorrectly that "assumptions about A and how B was constructed from A" cannot be included in the description of B referred to in my outline (and presented to the computer in the form of the number she mentions). In fact, however, any statement which can be made in English can also be encoded as a number, fed into a computer, and used by its programs accordingly. One may stipulate that in the context of my outline all program descriptions include the assumptions about A and a description of the process, if any, for transforming A into the given program. The contradiction remains, unchanged, when the descriptions (or numbers) are thus augmented. The assertions in Baase's third paragraph are thus shown to be false.

Baase's second fallacy is even more elementary. All deterministic entities may be simulated by deterministic Turing machines, but it does not follow that nondeterministic Turing machines can simulate all non-deterministic entities. Thus while the general limitations of Turing machines must apply to nondeterministic Turing machines, they need not limit the cognitive range of other nondeterministic entities, such as human beings. I agree with Baase's statement that great care must be taken when trying to transfer results from one field to another. I would add the suggestion that the same standard of care be applied when criticizing such work.

BRIDGE-BUILDING WITH CONSERVATIVES

I am writing this in protest against a disturbing trend towards a sort of ideological bridge-building with conservatives, particularly those associated with YAF. It is evidenced most clearly in the acceptance of conservatives into the libertarian camp (e.g., David Brudnoy of YAF as a contributing editor to *REASON*), and the failure to differentiate clearly between the two groups.

A good example of this is the uncritical acceptance of Congressman Steven Symms (R-Idaho) by the libertarian media. Is Symms a conservative or a libertarian? In your *REASON* Profile (April 1973), you note his stands against the minimum wage and the postal monopoly, and his attack on big government in general. Since then he has introduced legislation to legalize gold and prohibit sending foreign aid to North Vietnam. Great stuff—but not good enough. All of these positions are common to *both* camps.

Unlike the "free enterprise" conservative, the libertarian applies the concept of *laissez-faire* to *all* non-coercive social relations. This is the acid test of the libertarian. The conservative is more interested in maintaining a certain king of moral and social order, and supports "free enterprise" because it is a traditional part of the national culture.

It is time to ask those "friends" of ours some very pointed questions: Do they oppose censorship of "obscene" material? Do they support the full legalization of drugs—including heroin—or do they gabble about "decriminalization" for users? Do they support amnesty for draft resistors? Do they support the Equal Rights Amendment? Do they oppose an interventionist foreign policy?

This issue is not mere ideological nitpicking, but a profoundly practical matter. Conservatives have a certain image in the public eye: a group of socially uptight and pious nationalists, church-going bigots, cantankerous Middle Americans, etc. We can't afford to be contaminated with that kind of image. Libertarians must take the utmost pains to distinguish themselves from conservatives at every

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If you are the person we need, you are between 25 and 35 years old. You have a college education, and probably paid for at least part of it yourself. You may, or may not have a technical degree, but you have a definite mechanical sense, and a good capacity to visualize the structure of mechanical arrangements.

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You are probably earning between $9500 and $15,000, have a sense that the road in front of you is blocked by some factor other than your ability and willingness to produce results, and are impatient to have more responsibility and more opportunity.

For openers, you may be worth up to $20,000 (including fringes) to us, and we'll throw in the opportunity to do rational work, in a rational company, with a rational supervisor. From there on, the opportunity is exactly the same size as yourself; no arbitrary ceilings. Economic reality and results are the only limits.

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opportunity, so that we may project a clearly *different* image: that of free-thinkers and cultural innovators, rather than relics of the past.

So far, we libertarians have had little problem being identified as liberals. Instead, we have been lumped with conservatives as representatives of the Right. We must keep up an indignant protest until this error is corrected. To this end, we should adopt the following rule: The only conservatives accepted in our ranks shall be *ex*-conservatives; the rest shall be treated as lepers.

Bruce A. Ramsey
Editor, *THE SHOCKWAVE*
Libertarian Party of Washington State
Everett, WA

MORE ON CONSERVATIVES

I am writing to protest the appearance of conservative writers in the pages of *REASON,* namely: Gary North and David Brudnoy. I protest by reason of their incompatibility with libertarianism.

(1) In the October *REASON,* Mr. North writes on the characteristics of bureaucracy. He essentially tells us what we have known all along: bureaucracy is self-serving, made possible only through coercive financing, and is inefficient. This warmed-over insight is simply not worth the effort of exposition. Furthermore, his advocacy of "peeing on the court-house steps" is facetious, and therefore worthless. If he is really so pessimistic of eventual reform, he ought rationally to concede defeat rather than spin useless fantasies.

Considering further: Mr. North's article in the 31 August 1973 *NATIONAL REVIEW* ("Pornography, Community, Law") in which he defends the censorship of "obscene" material, makes it doubtful that he is even sincere in his denunciation of bureaucracy. Not only is Mr. North willing to propagate a bureaucracy dedicated to the suppression of pornography (in the name of "the 'collective conscience' of the community"), he also denies the protection of the First Amendment to anything other than *political* speech and publication. Mr. North is not so much interested in "live and let live" as he is dedicated to "the censorship of . . . cultural nihilism."

(2) Mr. Brudnoy's column in the November *REASON* hashes over another well-understood argument: the economic disaster associated with minimum wage laws. The reiteration of established libertarian arguments is also shown in the April *NEW GUARD,* wherein he writes on "Decriminalizing Crimes Without Victims: The Time is Now." An admirable topic, but laced with the usual conservative confusions and contradictions: (a) although he speaks of the injustice of victimless "crimes", he still bows to the necessity of some kind of *censorship;* (b) he misconstrues the libertarian position to be one of "let anybody do anything"; and (c) he declares that "orthodox" libertarianism accepts freedom as an *end in itself.* One cannot fault Mr. Brudnoy's intentions in writing his articles, but his understanding of victimless "crimes" and of libertarian philosophy is retarded, compared to the libertarian mainstream. Unless he has radically transformed in the meantime, there is no evidence to believe he can *enlighten* libertarians.

(3) In opening *REASON* to conservative writers, the editorial staff of *REASON* is obliged to defend this decision. Libertarians deliberately distinguish themselves *from* conservatives and liberals because both the Right and the Left are inconsistent in their advocacy of human liberty. Libertarianism is unique in its consistent commitment to human rights, and eschews compromise of this commitment. Conservatives, as reflected by North and Brudnoy, still advocate coercion on some level. They offer libertarianism nothing, and profit by the mantle of prestige and popularity which the libertarian movement has gained over the last five years. If this precedent is set, why should *REASON* refuse to print Galbraith, Kleindienst, or Mark Rudd, if they should coincidentally agree with libertarians on some specific issue?

I did not become a libertarian with the intention of blurring my uniqueness from conservatives and liberals. I did not subscribe to *REASON* with the expectation of reading the sentiments of those whom I measure among the oppressors of society.

There are many libertarians vying for a chance to speak. How is it they are being pre-empted by representatives of the establishment?

Mike Dunn
Seattle, WA

THE EDITORS REPLY: *REASON* does not do background checks on authors, nor do we maintain an "enemies list." (Frankly, we were as offended by Mr. North's defense of censorship in *NATIONAL REVIEW* as was reader Dunn.) We strive to publish articles that rationally defend and advance the principles of human liberty, whatever their source.

We have no intention of requiring a test of a person's ideological purity, so long as what he has to say in the pages of *REASON* is reasonable. Thus, *REASON's* pages are open to "conservatives" (Gary North), "liberals" (John Holt), "pacifists" (Robert LeFevre), "limited statists" (John Hospers), "anarcho-capitalists" (Murray Rothbard), *et al.,* on this basis.

Moreover, the use of labels to classify the acceptability of a person's thinking is far from precise; and a person considered to be a "conservative" might well take rational profreedom approaches on many issues.

Mr. Ramsey poses some excellent questions for our "friends." To the extent our "friends" identify with a libertarian position on such issues, we are pleased; in other cases, our "friends"—whether Rand, Hospers, Symms, etc.—are not *REASON's* friends as to issues on which they take a statist position.

As for contributing editor David Brudnoy, readers Dunn and Ramsey might be interested in corresponding with Brudnoy regarding his growing attraction to libertarian principles and his thoughts on communicating them to conservatives. We believe such communication is extremely valuable at a time when many intelligent conservatives are re-thinking their values in light of the Nixon debacle.

ROTHBARD AND HAYEK COMPARED

I would like to respond briefly to Martin Glasser's comments (Letters, December) on my review (September) of Dr. Rothbard's book *FOR A NEW LIBERTY.* While Mr. Glasser's comments about Mises are fully valid, I cannot say the same for his comments concerning the epistemological views of Hayek and Rothbard. Even though they might agree on a vast number of conclusions, the epistemological views of Rothbard and Hayek are light-years removed from one another. My specific comment in my review referred to Hayek's *own* classifications, particularly in *THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY,* where he heatedly attacks rationalism. In my view, Hayek's concept of *reason*, which is central to many of his works, is totally false; in the broadest philosophical sense, Hayek is a Kantian in his epistemological views, and has been in every book from *THE SENSORY ORDER: AN INQUIRY INTO THE FOUNDATIONS OF THEORETICAL PSYCHOLOGY* to his most recent book, *LAW, LEGISLATION AND LIBERTY,* Vol. 1. In this sense, in a fundamental sense, Hayek is not an innovator in epistemology; in all of his works,

his philosophical categories are taken straight from textbooks devoted to the history of philosophy. Although there are some details new with Hayek, he is, largely, arguing from within categories defined and defended by other, earlier, writers. Hayek would say that the notion of an "objective reality" in the Aristotelian or Objectivist sense is meaningless, holds that sense-perceptions are acts of *classification,* and argues for a notion of what he calls "the primacy of the abstract." Perceptions, to Hayek, are derived from abstractions—a basically Kantian approach to epistemology. His position on "rationalism" is more obscure: he attacked rationalism for many years in favor of a brand of traditionalist-empiricism of the Humean, Burkean, variety. But in his book *STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS,* he argues that perhaps he was wrong, that perhaps there are various *kinds* of rationalism, but in any case the focus of his attacks remain the same: the use of *explicit* reason to define and solve problems. I think that all of this rests on serious errors, but this is not the place for me to attempt to correct them. I shall publish a lengthy and fully detailed consideration of the Hayekian system, with all of its virtues and flaws, after Hayek has finished publishing the three volumes of his projected *magnum opus, LAW, LEGISLATION AND LIBERTY.*

Glasser's oversimplified representation of the Hayekian position is simply out-of-touch with the broader fundamentals and the more intricate philosophical views on which Hayek's views are based. I refer him particularly to Hayek's *THE SENSORY ORDER,* the volume of *STUDIES* mentioned, and the essay "The Primacy of the Abstract," in Koestler and Smythies, eds., *BEYOND REDUCTIONISM.*

Now for a note on the views of Mises and Hayek. Mises' work in epistemology is not as detailed as that of Hayek, but he has placed himself squarely in the Kantian tradition. Even economic laws, or, more properly, their analytical bases, are not facts of objective reality to Mises: they are "categories of the understanding," clearly an extension of Kantian thinking to the realm of economics. The position of Rothbard is crystal clear, if not fully detailed: he is the exact opposite of Mises and Hayek in this sense; he is an *Aristotelian* who defends the axioms of economics as being *both* empirically derived *and* necessarily true, thus rejecting many of the dichotomies which Mises and Hayek implicitly rely on, and the whole Kantian-Positivist frame of reference as a basis for valid debate. Rejecting these dichotomies, Rothbard in fact places himself outside of the Misesian-Hayekian categories, despite his agreement with them on certain more substantive points of methodology (the focus on deduction from axioms, for example) and in economics proper. Rothbard has never himself emphasized this radical departure from Misesian and Hayekian lines of thought, but it exists nonetheless, and it is a very basic difference between them. As far as agreeing with Hayek is concerned, it is simply not true of Rothbard that he does. When *THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY* was first finished a decade and a half ago, Rothbard wrote a long and unpublished critique of it which many libertarians, including myself, have been privileged to read. In it he took Hayek mercilessly to task for his epistemological views, and for their consequences in the Hayekian political philosophy. On most substantive issues of methodology and substantive political philosophy, Rothbard and Hayek are at opposite poles.

R. A. Childs, Jr.
Editor, *BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS*
Los Angeles, CA

Letters from readers are welcome. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Letters submitted for publication in this column should be typed, double-spaced. Send letters to REASON, P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

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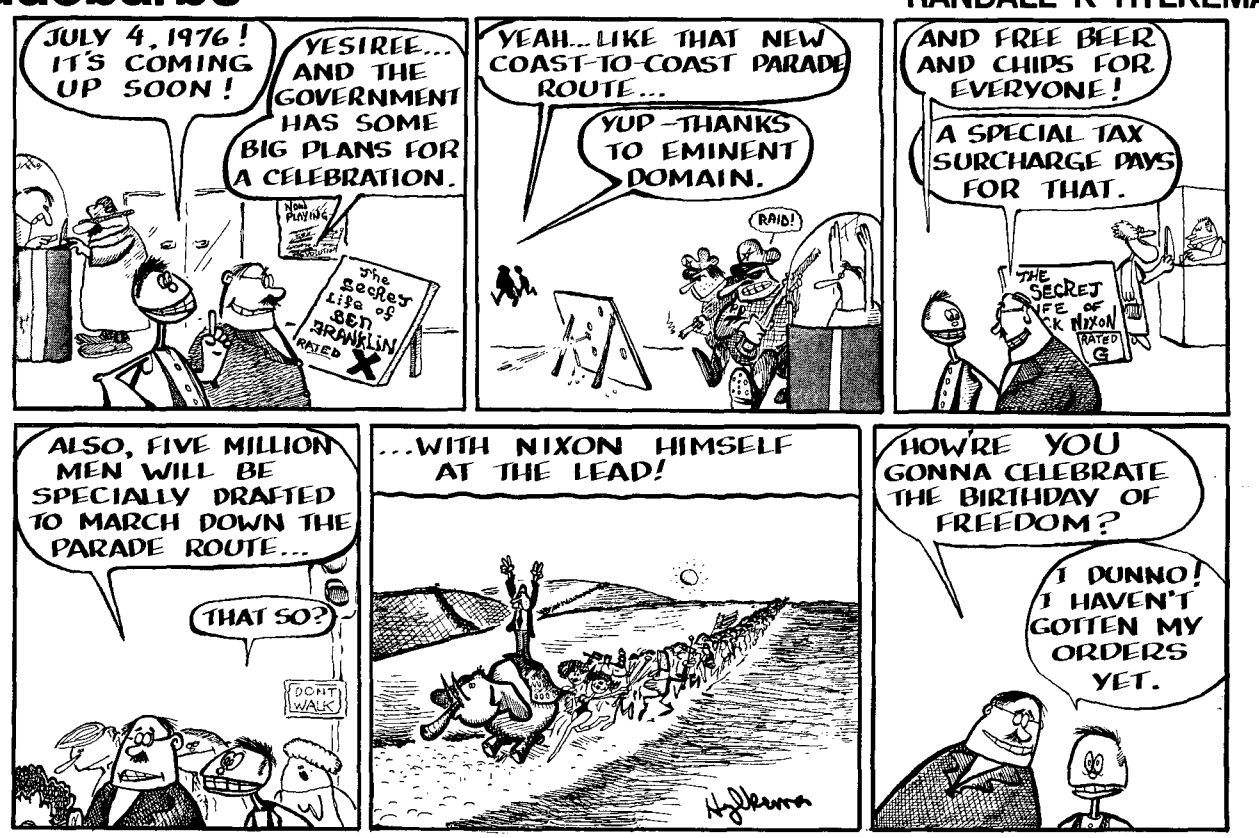
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